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USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

IMPROVING CEMA AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Moscow IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK SSSR: SERIYA EKONOMICHESKAYA in Russian No 4,
Jul-Aug 85 pp 103-114

[Article by I.N. Buzdalov: "Problems in Raising Economic Efficiency in the
APK of CEMA Countries"; first paragraph is SERIYA EKONOMICHESKAYA
introduction. Numbers in brackets refer to bibliography.]

[Text] The article reviews methodological questions related to the provision
and determination of economic efficiency, including special features in the
formation and measurement of the size of the effect in agriculture. The
author indicates the importance of the value form of measuring efficiency,
reveals the mechanism for influencing its enhancement of cost accounting
controls and other economic incentives while relying on the experience of CEMA
countries. The most promising areas for strengthening the incentives to raise
efficiency are analyzed. Special attention is thereby paid to the questions
of the comprehensive development of the economic mechanism as applied to the
agricultural area.

The achievement of high economic efficiency in all spheres of labor activity
is a problem of primary importance in the current stage of socialist
development. This was especially stressed at the April (1985) CPSU Central
Committee Plenum. The possibilities for further economic growth and an
acceleration of scientific-technical progress as well as the scope and pace of
social reforms depend upon the resolution of this problem. At the present
time, the provision of an increase in the efficiency of public production
requires the application of primarily intensive factors of economic
development and a new approach to the utilization of productive factors and to
the improvement of production relations. Therefore, questions of efficiency
have taken a central place in the current economic and agricultural policy of
the CPSU and communist and worker parties of the other countries of the
socialist community. The economic mechanism for the regulation of the
reproduction process is increasingly being geared to the achievement of the
greatest social effect.

Despite certain positive changes in the area of efficiency and its main
component--quality (including qualitative characteristics of goods and
resources as well as management and administration)--the real situation here
does not yet correspond to the contemporary demands and nature of the social

and political tasks facing the fraternal countries. Judging by the general trend of the change in economic indicators expressing the correlation of results and expenditures, including the expenditure of usable resources, the problem of efficiency remains acute in all sectors of the economy. But it is most felt in the agrarian and food area. Thus, with significantly increased capital investments in the USSR's agriculture in the first 3 years of the current five-year plan, total per-capita production in the sector essentially increased very little, whereby significant losses (20 percent or more) remain in the subsequent stages of the movement of this output to the consumer. The food deficit is compensated through continually increasing food imports, which increased by a factor of more than eight in the years 1970 through 1983 and reached 20.5 percent of total imports (13.1 percent in 1970). The inadequate and at times declining return on investments in agriculture and the system of the APK [agro-industrial complex] as a whole is also observed in other countries of socialism. All of this has a negative effect on overall economic growth and on the resolution of social questions.

In comprehensively analyzing the reasons for the negative trends in the area of efficiency and in their economic policy, the CPSU and the communist and worker parties of the other countries of the socialist community are working on ways of eliminating these reasons in the resource-saving directions of development and in the intensification of the development process. The need for such an approach is dictated by the narrowing of the possibilities for an increase in capital investments, by the depletion of the reserves for bringing extensive factors of economic growth into the economic turnover, by the decline of energy resources and the increase in their cost, etc.

In recent years in a number of countries of socialism, capital investments in agricultural have been declining not only relatively--their share fell to 10 to 13 percent (to 6.8 percent in Yugoslavia)--but also in absolute terms (in Bulgaria, Hungary and the GDR). At the same time, the increase in output there is no less than in countries where capital investments in the sector continue to increase, reaching 20 percent or more of their total volume in the national economy. For the period 1970-1983 as a whole, for example, the physical volume of capital investments in agriculture declined by 4 percent in Hungary and by 5 percent in the GDR, whereas gross output increased by 50 and 24 percent, respectively. In the Republic of Cuba, capital investments in the sector increased by a factor of 3.1, in Mongolia by a factor of 2, in the CSSR by a factor of almost 2.1, and gross output increased by only 34, 36, 23 and 30 percent, respectively. [12]

Considering that an important factor in the increase in the efficiency of agriculture is its consistent retooling and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the countries of the socialist community are seeking and will continue to seek additional resources for the further development of the productive forces of the sector. Under today's conditions, however, the fact is (and this relates to all sectors of the economy) that the plans for economic development "must be justified not only economically but above all politically-economically." [8] Such an approach is especially important now when methods of management, largely obsolete but playing a certain positive role in the past, of course, "pose obstacles in the path of new technology and keep it out of the shops. There can be only one conclusion from this: the

results of all of our concerns about a qualitative transformation of productive forces depend directly upon how we are able to introduce changes into production relations.... The extraordinary importance of this work as a whole is determined by the fact that it is intended for the creation of economic conditions without which the aim to retool the national economy and to intensify it is--let us put it bluntly--is left hanging in the air." [8]

The data presented above with substantial differences among the CEMA countries on the results of investments in essential elements of the productive forces of agriculture are a graphic confirmation of the importance of the indicated changes and, more specifically, of the significance of qualitative changes in the style and methods of management. The positive experience in this area shows that the economic mechanism appears as the main element in ensuring the highly efficient and resource-saving development of the economy, its sectors and intersectorial complexes, including the APK, under today's conditions. In this connection, as was especially emphasized at the December (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it is a matter of its integrated improvement on the basis of a program approach. [4] On this path, one will have to overcome devotion to customary methods of management and traditional approaches to the management of the economy that in many ways do not now meet the new requirements. In the USSR, as was noted at the April (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, work in this direction has just begun. [5] "In taking this path and choosing optimum solutions, it is important to be creative in applying the fundamental principles of socialist management," they stressed at the March (1985) special plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. [6]

To carry out this work successfully, it is very important to study and utilize the experience that has already been accumulated in the reorientation of the economic mechanism toward efficiency and quality. In a number of countries of socialism, primary attention is now being paid to such a reorientation in the formation of an up-to-date policy, in agriculture as well, and in the implementation of large-scale measures for its realization. "At this time, the question of questions," according to the Accounting Report of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, "is the comprehensive application of all elements of the new economic approach and its mechanism in every economic organization, every brigade, and all areas of social activity." [9] As was established by the 12th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the tasks in the contemporary economic development of the country, at the center of which are efficiency and quality, "require a better adaptation of the administrative system to changing conditions.... A socialist planned economy, in combination with the independence of enterprises and cooperatives and taking into account group interests and providing for material incentive, successfully contributes to the carrying out of our economic policy." [10] The aims of further developing the economic mechanism and increasing its impact on efficiency and quality are included in the decisions of the congresses and central committee plenums of other communist and worker parties of CEMA countries as well.

The question of the reorganization of the economic mechanism with an orientation toward efficiency and quality is not merely a practical question about changing the methods and style of the planned management of the economy. Its restructuring also involves fundamental problems in the system of the

production relations of socialism and problems in administrative work of coordinating centralization and democratic principles, subjective and objective, as well as policy and economics. It is therefore essential to generalize the positive experience of the countries of socialism not only in the purely practical and applied aspect but also (which is especially important) in terms of the scientific and methodological approach, also including the question of the very essence of the category of economic efficiency, its criteria, and the system of indicators. This is the basic condition for ensuring a direct active trend of the economic mechanism toward increased efficiency.

A special examination of the methodology involved in the problem of economic efficiency is a separate large subject, a number of whose fundamental aspects are still quite controversial, often because of an inadequately clear outline of the subject of discussion. This, in particular, is the indication of one of the latest determinations in the political-economic literature of "general economic" efficiency as the result of the "material-technical side of production." [13] The given treatise does not even explain why the analysis excludes live labor, the basis of all production and an active factor in providing for efficiency. Without going into detail on this subject, let us turn our attention to just those factors whose controversial nature is largely artificial, that is, does not flow from the practice of the countries of socialism and the corresponding aims of the communist and worker parties of these countries but in individual aspects sometimes even contradicts the tasks of raising the effectiveness of the economic mechanism as an integrated factor in raising efficiency. (Footnote 1) (In a special publication, we presented in detail the methodological side of the problem of the economic mechanism of the APK, taking this task into account.)

As an economic category, the efficiency of public production is a definite form of the results of all its factors functioning in an interrelationship and an organic whole. This is the point of departure of the problem, a deviation from which often constitutes a diversion toward abstract determinations and artificial constructions regarding the results of production in general. Frequently methodological explanations of the nature of efficiency extend into the area of unjustifiably extensive treatises, which sometimes engenders fundamentally different determinations inevitably interlaced with a diversity of methodical studies and recommendations that turn out to be quite amorphous and of little use for practical application. This is precisely why the controversial nature of the problem, appearing in the course of its discussion in the journal VOPROSY EKONOMIKI during the years 1974 and 1975, has not yet diminished but has even increased by virtue of the indicated reasons.

Judging by the nature of the publications, even more controversy is observed in the economic literature on agricultural questions, whereby it is sometimes not so much on the nature of the subject as it is around it. Many authors, either not wanting to enter into endless and fruitless disputes or proceeding from the seeming clarity of the essence of the question, often not even being able to say what efficiency is or what specific aspect of the results of social development it reflects and being guided by the striving to give practical recommendations, immediately begin to propose various sets of

criteria and indicators (generalizing, synthetic, integral, supplementary, indirect, etc.).

Because of the lack of sufficiently clear general methodological direction in the study of the problem, at the present time a large number of different types and subtypes of economic efficiency have been put into circulation: absolute, comparative, national economic, sectorial, regional cost accounting, and others, which does not always conform to the definiteness of its concept as a specific category. The following are presented as a criterion (measure) of the size of the effect: gross social product, gross output of the sectors and intersectorial complexes, their final output, national income, net output, gross income, and net income, although the measure of a specific phenomenon requires uniformity and commensurability in the quantitative relationship, just as there are measures of weight, length, volume, time, etc.

As for indicators, an incredible number of them have already been proposed. Hundreds of formulas for measuring effectiveness have been devised, whereby different formulas and indicators are frequently recommended for one and the same completely specific expression of efficiency dictated by certain factors of production. The lack of definiteness in questions of scientific method leads to a situation where initially some valuation indicator is recommended with ease and later just as easily replaced with some other indicator. Thus, for example, after the adoption by the March (1965) and September (1965) CPSU Central Committee plenums of principles for raising efficiency, it was proposed to express the magnitude of the effect in special methods through profit and an indicator of profitability. It was recommended that profit and the level of profitability be made the basis of the evaluation of economic activity, which, as everyone knows, could not be done, because for this purpose it was necessary to have a functional restructuring of the entire mechanism of planned management and the entire system of economic controls and incentives.

Through the measures outlined in 1979 for the further improvement of the economic mechanism in the direction of strengthening its influence on the increase in the efficiency of production and the quality of work, it was planned to use the increase in net output as the basic valuation indicator of the results of economic activity. In publications, many authors sought to show the advantages of such an indicator (more accurately, criterion), especially in its standard estimates. Their "evidence," however, was not very convincing and naturally this criterion did not work, despite the improvement of the system of prices and a certain overall strengthening of economic controls in the management mechanism. According to the authoritative evaluations carried out by USSR Gosplan on the basis of the generalization of the real scope and--the main thing--of the results of the actual application of the indicator of net output, the high hopes that were put "on it were not justified." [15]

In the overall statement of the problem by the authors dealing with it, the essence of efficiency is externally treated unambiguously as an expression of the productivity of the total expenditures of social labor or, to be more specific, as the magnitude of the effect obtained in production per unit of expenditures or resources used. Under the conditions of the socialist

economy, this category is fundamentally different in its social content from the same category under the conditions of the capitalist economy. There is no such contrast, however, when it is a matter of a narrowly economic content or quantitative measurement. Otherwise, artificial constructions and vagueness are inevitable. Let us consider other categories: the productivity of live labor under socialism, as under capitalism, is measured by the quantity of output (or newly created value) per unit of time, price by the socially necessary expenditures of labor and is invariably seen as a monetary expression of value, return on capital by the output per unit of production capital, etc. This circumstance alone is evidence of the existence of general methodological bases of specific economic analysis.

It is obvious in the general statement of the problem that the criterion of efficiency is different for different methods of production, since it is determined by the special features of the social and economic order of society and the essence of its economic law. (Footnote 2) (In the opinion of some Bulgarian economists, efficiency as a general category is characterized by a single criterion existing "independently of the social form of the organization of production.") [24] But at the same time, there is an objective dependence of the category of efficiency, as well as of a number of the other above-named economic categories, upon general inherent laws in the development of physical production. [16] Therefore, as F. Engels emphasized, one should begin their economic analysis from their nature as such and not from a particular social and economic form, "logically and historically secondary." (Footnote 3) (This completely conforms to the previously formed fundamental methodological position of Marxist theory: "Epochs in the history of society, just as epochs in the history of the earth, are not abstractly separated from one another by strict boundaries." [1, Vol 23, p 282]) [1, Vol 25, part 2, p 16] A basic law determines the special features of the social content of a given category. Consequently, under socialism there is a fundamental change in the social nature of economic efficiency and its basic criterion, just as there is a change in the social nature (but not in their essence as such) of goods, money, prices, profit, labor itself, etc. By virtue of their stimulating function in activating economic progress, value categories and commodity-money instruments constitute an integral and essential part of the socialist economic system.

Competition with the capitalist world is fundamentally competition in the area of social efficiency--above all economic--and in the area of quality, its active element. Therein is the source of the resolution of the overall economic and social problems of socialism. Comparison of the results of such competition objectively presupposes unequivocal qualitative expressions of economic and social effects and the income obtained per unit of expenditures of labor and other resources. The utilization of commodity-money instruments here is important not only from the point of view of the corresponding international comparisons *per se* but also from the point of view of the application of world experience in increasing by means of their efficiency in accordance with the very important task set forth by V.I. Lenin--that of taking from world practice "all science, all technology, all knowledge," for without this "we cannot build the life of communist society." [2, Vol 38, p 55]

The scientific approaches to the analysis of efficiency under socialism, ignoring the general methodological bases of this category and inferring it directly from the general global goal of socialism, are deduced extremely simply: since the goal of socialist production is "the greater and greater satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural needs of the members of society, and the needs of people are satisfied not with value but with use value, then the efficiency of socialist production appears as the efficiency of the process of the establishment of use values." [17, 1983, No 12, p 83] This line of reasoning is unconvincing, for V.I. Lenin put the matter differently: profit "also satisfies social needs." [3] (Footnote 4) (And on the very next page, the authors of the above-mentioned article speak not only of use value but of value, of a value expression of the magnitude of the effect under socialism, in particular through net output.) In this question, K. Marx also had a very definite point of view. He wrote that the product of surplus labor always serves to satisfy general social needs, however the surplus product is distributed and whoever functions as the representative of these social needs. [1, Vol 25, part 2, pp 449, 450]

If one proceeds from a realistic approach to the problem corresponding to the actual conditions, then obviously the position is entirely acceptable (as an initial general methodological position) that the essence of the economic efficiency of public production under socialism "reflects a 'maximization' in the interests of the entire society of the effect (result) relative to the expenditures of social labor." [18] At the same time, in a given situation also characteristic of many other determinations, there remains an obvious inaccuracy of a fundamental nature: the complete identification of effect and result in general, even though a given absolute result such as the quantity of steel, oil, grain, meat, etc. can be obtained with different efficiencies of production. With an effect and result of the same magnitude, their identification is inadmissible particularly because the effect is a specific form of the success of production and its diverse results and achievements.

The yield of the fields and the productivity of livestock characterize the results of agricultural production, but that is still not efficiency. Moreover, an identical absolute result can be obtained with the most varied economic efficiency of the production of a given type of output. In practice, the net arises to reduce the production and consumption of specific types of output. Thus, in the years 1981 through 1983 in the CEMA countries, there was an absolute decline (especially per capita) in the production of potatoes relative to the start of 1960's. But this still says nothing about the efficiency of the sector. Its increase remains a problem under any changes in the overall absolute result (but not especially in the magnitude of the effect).

Consequently, of fundamental importance for the performance of an objective analysis of the problem of efficiency and the provision of the functional tendency of the economic mechanism to increase it is the revelation of its strictly specific essence as one of the expressions of the results of production. A very important qualitative characteristic of this essence is the increase in the absolute result over expenditures. If, for example, output is equal to 100 rubles and expenditures are the same, then it is obvious that there is an overall result and the effect, as the academician

T.S. Khachaturov justifiably notes, is "equal to zero." [17, 1979, No 6, p 133] From this follows the important overall methodological position that efficiency is a category of expanded reproduction. If there is no effect, that is, an increase in social product in excess of expenditures, then there is no source of increased reproduction of the means of production and manpower.

In this way, the economic efficiency of public production, no matter what level at which it is examined and whatever its absolute result may be (final output, national income, net output, etc.), can be revealed only through the determination of the "useful effect," that is, the excess of the absolute result over the total investments of social labor, live and embodied. In this, a single social form of the manifestation of the useful or "net" (with the deduction of expenditures) effect is distinguished--surplus product, which also appears as the general criterion of efficiency and the initial basis of its analysis and the development of a system of indicators. (Footnote 5) (In the words of K. Marx, it is precisely the category of surplus product and the objective necessity of increasing it as the basis for the expansion of production that "teaches humanity to consume its resources economically and to achieve the production goal with the least expenditure of resources." [1, Vol 25, part 2, p 449-450])

Of course, commensurate indicators of efficiency, determined through the criterion of surplus product, can be obtained by orienting the entire economic mechanism and the utilization of the corresponding general social form of accounting for expenditures and results toward surplus product. Just as the value form is such a form under socialism, of fundamental importance in the indicated orientation is a scientifically valid system of prices and other commodity-money instruments. In this connection, as was emphasized at the All-Union practical scientific conference "Improving Developed Socialism and the Ideological Work of the Party in the Light of the Decisions of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum," it is important "to learn to make even better use of these instruments, not forgetting, of course, that under socialism their nature and purpose change." (Footnote 6) (At least the setting of the directly opposite task sounds strange: the "overcoming" of commodity-money relationships "in the scope of the stage of the comprehensive development of socialism," since supposedly they were the cause of "many large miscalculations in economic practice." [14, 1984, No 2, p 6]) [1]

Naturally, in utilizing net income as the practical monetary expression of the criterion of economic efficiency, a mandatory prerequisite must be not only balanced prices but also the regulation of all other elements and levers of the commodity-money mechanism. There is no other way, for the essence of the problem is not just to determine the size of the effect. One of the key aspects of the problem is the increase in the effect and consequently the provision of reliable and effective incentives for increasing it, which is impossible without economically valid prices and a flexible system for regulating the distribution relationships with the utilization of value categories, above all that same net income, profit, credit, rent payments, etc. (Footnote 7) (Balanced prices are an indispensable condition for the

comparability of the evaluation of efficiency under the criterion of net output, gross income, etc.)

Indeed, national income and the magnitude of net output give the most generalized expression of efficiency, including its social aspect, in connection with which it is proper under socialism to utilize the indicator of national income in analyzing national economic efficiency. But this is only a step in the transition to the determination of precisely the economic effect through the criterion of net income, that is, through its real magnitude (result less all expenditures). One must not fail to consider that the indicators "national income" and "net output" characterize the magnitude of newly created value and consequently the overall level of economic growth. But they also include expenditures (consumption fund). In accordance with the principles of utilization, this fund serves precisely as one of the operative factors in raising efficiency and increasing the useful effect.

The necessity of an orientation toward net income, its relationship to expenditures and profitability as a generalizing indicator of efficiency and the overall evaluation of the results of the work of agricultural and other enterprises of the agro-industrial area was repeatedly emphasized in the decisions of the communist and worker parties of the socialist countries. Thus it was noted even at the March (1965) CPSU Central Committee Plenum that the level of profitability must be made "the basis for the evaluation of the economic activity of kolkhozes and sovkhozes." In its decisions, the 26th CPSU Congress paid special attention to the provision of profitable work and, for this purpose, to the improvement of the system of wholesale prices, including purchase prices. It was noted at the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum that the indicator of profitability synthesizes the results "of all of the work to provide for an increase in the efficiency of agricultural production." In this connection, the task has been set of applying price-setting and the entire system of cost-accounting controls to the achievement of the "stable profitability of the farms as a basis for expanded reproduction." (Footnote 8) (Scientific generalizations in this question invariably lead to one conclusion: "The efficiency of socialist agricultural production is expressed by the indicator of profitability." [19]) [7]

The decisions of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the guiding documents of the communist and worker parties of other socialist countries point out the decisive role of the criterion of profit and the indicator of profitability in evaluating the achieved efficiency and their importance as incentives in the system of cost accounting controls and interests. The Accounting Report of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee to its 12th Congress noted that for the new economic mechanism to be consistently reoriented toward efficiency, it is essential "to transfer all types of economic and social activity to cost accounting, the heart of which is self-support," that is, profitable management. Profit is a synthesizing indicator that ultimately generalizes the results of the utilization of the means of production and manpower and the reduction of production cost and the improvement of the quality of output as well as the improvement of the organization of production in each economic unit. For this reason, profit must become the basic criterion of the work of each labor collective and each

brigade." (Footnote 9) (The research of Bulgarian agrarian economists can be reduced to the generalizing conclusion: the level of efficiency is synthesized in the magnitude of the "profitability standard of the production funds advanced.") [24]

An analogous orientation relative to the importance of profit and profitability in resolving the problem of efficiency was given in the materials of the 12th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. "Only profitability," notes the Accounting Report of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee to the congress, "is in a position to properly stimulate the economic organizations to raise efficiency, provide for technical progress, and improve quality." With sound prices, this is the "indispensable condition for a correct evaluation of economic processes, the making of correct economic decisions, and the proper regulation of production and consumption." (Footnote 10) (In this case, profitability can be objectively determined "on the basis of real wholesale prices reflecting an evaluation of the world market as well." (Ibid.)) [10]

One of the basis tasks in the improvement of management methods and their consistent orientation toward efficiency and quality in the Hungarian APK is that the "economic incentives of farms and individual workers be more closely linked to the results of management and the increase in the profitability of production." [20] In recent years in the agricultural policy of the GDR, CSSR and other countries of socialism, more and more attention has been paid to the justifications of the necessity and ways of further increasing the role of the indicator of profitability in the evaluation of efficiency as the generalizing qualitative result of production and in the stimulation of labor. (Footnote 11) (Experience has shown that the underestimation of the indicator of profitability in the analysis of efficiency and its stimulation during the foregoing period in the CSSR (the average level of profitability of agriculture in the years 1976-1980 amounted to only 6.8 percent) began "to curb the utilization of the enormous production potential existing in agricultural enterprises and restrained the initiative of labor collectives in the further development of each farm.") [20]

The consistent utilization of profit and profitability both in measuring the absolute and relative magnitude of an effect as well as in the resolution of a complex of economic problems in providing for high efficiency in the agro-industrial area is producing more and more results, as is evidenced by the experience of a number of socialist countries. Judging by many materials in the literature on agricultural questions in these countries, questions in raising the efficiency of production in cooperatives, state farms, and other enterprises of the APK system are essentially reduced to increasing the level of profitability, in accordance with whose indicators resources, credit, etc. are made available.

The generalization of the experience gained by Bulgaria, Hungary and other CEMA countries in the reorientation of the economic mechanism of the APK toward efficiency and quality is making it possible to determine the basic directions of the corresponding changes in the style and methods of planning management and in the evaluation of the results of labor and its stimulation. The extensive utilization of this experience, proceeding from the fundamental

Leninist ideas on the orientation of the development of socialism toward cost accounting, economic incentives, the principle of democratic centralism, cooperation, and a systematic exchange of commodities and money, has great significance for the CSSR and other countries of socialism. Worthy of special attention are the new approaches based on these ideas to the utilization of all elements of the economic mechanism, above all price-setting, and the application of a system of prices balanced at an equal standard of profit for the production of all types of output and the offering of services.

The experience of Hungary and the measures taken to restructure the bases of price-setting in the APK of the GDR and CSSR, proceeding from the general laws of price-setting, show that the requirements of the direct functional orientation of the economic mechanism toward efficiency of production are met by: a) the use of a model of the price of production as the basis of the price mechanism; b) accounting in the price for all price-building factors, including the factor of supply and demand, social utility, quality of output, and movement of world prices, that is, flexibility in price-setting. In this case, one guarantees the commensurability of the level of efficiency in accordance with the generalizing indicator and also the active stimulation of its increase with the utilization of other instruments of the commodity-money exchange: the tax system, including rent payments, credits, and subsidies on the basis of cost accounting principles for their utilization. In the organizational economic plan, this means that producers and enterprises participate increasingly extensively and directly in the setting of prices and that there is an expansion in the area of the application of ceiling and contractual prices established by the partners in economic agreements.

The changes taking place in this area, the elimination of the price scissors in the APK, and the tasks in providing for a general economic balance in the national economy require a refinement of the relationships of wholesale and retail prices, including the prices for the basic types of food. Because of the relative stability of prices, such a refinement has been taking place in recent years in Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, the CSSR and, to a certain degree, in the other CEMA countries, as a result of which, as practice shows, the negative consequences of the concept of low-cost food are eliminated, a concept which, in aggravating "the general lack of balance in the economy, makes more difficult the restructuring of the entire economic mechanism with an orientation toward an increase in the efficiency and quality of work and leads to a waste of food products." [21]

The regulation of the payment for natural resources including land and water for irrigation is an important problem whose resolution has fundamental importance for such a reorganization in agriculture.

At the present time, this payment is still collected under principles that are insufficiently justified from a scientific point of view, with shortcomings in the zonal differentiation of purchase prices that does not give due consideration to the actual differences in the quality of land and consequently to the size of the differential rent received by the farms. The practice of not charging for these resources or of payment unrelated to the real magnitude of the effect contradicts the indicated reorientation and undermines the incentives for an increase in efficiency achieved, in

particular, through better utilization of production funds, especially land. (Footnote 12) (The methodological and practical groundlessness of the concept of the "free" utilization of natural resources, rejected in the practice of a number of socialist countries, was shown in the materials of the International Conference on Problems in the Economic Mechanism of the APK (1981). The given concept, notes the academician A.M. Rumyantsev, "is increasingly revealing its negative consequences and is leading to the squandering of these very important irreplaceable elements of public wealth." [22]) The establishment of an economically justified (in the form of fixed rent payments or, as is practiced in a number of socialist countries, a land tax) payment for land taking into account its quality and for irrigation water (if the source of the payment is cost accounting income and not the state's pocket) does indeed become an important factor in stimulating a better utilization of natural resources and an effective instrument for the realization of the national ownership of these resources.

An essential condition in the indicated reorganization is the establishment of a direct linkage of interests--the main motive force of the economic mechanism, the system of stimulating production, with the magnitude of the achieved effect and its increase. The experience of the CEMA countries indicates that for this purpose it is essential that there be fundamental changes in the evaluation of the results of economic work, that is, a transition from evaluation and incentives for the plan and natural indicators to the utilization, as the basis for such an evaluation, of the profitability indicator synthesizing in the indicated price system the volume of production, labor productivity, production cost, and the quality of output. Encouragement of increased profitability thereby becomes a powerful economic lever for raising overall efficiency in all of its named components. In internal economic relations, it is important to combine stimulation of the final results with effective forms of organizing labor, in particular with the application of the collective and family contract (here the experience of Vietnam, for example, deserves close attention); in external economic relations, with an effective system of agreements.

The transition to the economic-agreement form of developing and implementing planning decisions ensures the effective observance of the principle of democratic centralism, the actual granting of economic independence to enterprises, and their real participation in planned management. There is a change in the role and functions of counterplanning, the basis of which is an actual contractual obligation that considers the conditions and possibilities of the farms. A mandatory precondition for the corresponding changes is the submission of the drafts of central plans to all interested links (purchasing agents, suppliers, etc.) entering into cooperation or equal contractual relations with enterprises and associations and with the parties having direct responsibility for the observance of contractual obligations, including the responsibility of specific officials.

The economic-agreement form of interrelations has tremendous importance in the matter of cooperation and the effective combination of large and small-scale production. Its extensive utilization at all APK levels, including the intersectorial level, does not violate the centralized principle in management but raises it to a qualitatively new level. Any resistance here can be

explained only by subjective factors, forces of inertia, the fear of increased responsibility for administrative decisions, and new "concerns" in connection with the necessity of learning to manage in a new way--on the basis of economic methods and with the help of cost accounting controls and incentives.

A question of fundamental importance is that of separating the functions of economic policy (including agrarian policy) from those of direct farm management. In practical terms, this problem amounts to the elimination of the observed unjustified merging of the functions of general control-guidance (party) and specific organizational-operational management. The inadmissibility and "fatal" consequences of such a merging were indicated by V.I. Lenin himself and also in the resolution of the 11th CPSU Congress adopted in accordance with his proposal. The demarcation of these functions under today's conditions, the urgency of which was again stressed at the February (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and in the party documents of Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam and other fraternal countries, is becoming a central problem in the reorientation of the entire economic mechanism toward efficiency and quality and an indispensable condition for the elimination of so-called bureaucratic administration.

As was noted at the All-Union economic conference on APK problems, it is now important to fulfill unswervingly the CPSU aim of clearly delimiting the functions of party, soviet, and economic authorities. [23] For the purpose of improving the work in the direction of delimiting administrative functions in this area, "it is essential to do everything possible to develop democratic principles and to expand the practice of electing officials and having competition to fill positions." [8] Here, of course, the corresponding legislative acts are required, without which this practice is frequently violated in cooperative enterprises and is still not being applied in state enterprises.

The national economy represents a complex of organically related and closely interacting structural elements, and a unified economic mechanism functions within it. Fundamentally unique administrative methods are applied. At the same time, specific sectors, areas and intersectorial specialized complexes of the national economy have the specificity of manifesting general laws of the development of physical production. This specificity governs the characteristics of the utilization of different economic categories, which requires special approaches to the methods of management and to the application of economic controls and incentives. It is therefore right to elaborate economic mechanisms based on general principles and at the same time having their own special features for the development of groups of similar sectors interconnected through the reproduction of specific final products. This primarily relates to the APK. The nature of the action of the economic mechanism of the complex is influenced by the special features of the agricultural relationships and the specificity of reproduction in the agro-industrial area in connection with the influence on it of natural conditions, rent factors, etc.

It is important to keep something else in mind. Any reorganization in the economy, taking into account its increasing scope, the complication of interrelationships, and the action of the forces of inertia, requires that one

proceed gradually and in stages. It is expedient to carry out a qualitative restructuring particularly in those links of the national economy, sectors or regions where the necessity for it is felt especially acutely and where a significant effect can be obtained rapidly on the basis of a change in the style and methods of economic management. Such a link is the agrarian sector and the entire system of the agro-industrial economy, which was considered in the qualitative changes in the management mechanism of individual socialist countries.

A general fundamental requirement in the improvement of the mechanism of planning management and the provision of its functional orientation toward efficiency is, as follows from the experience of these countries, the gradual and comprehensive restructuring of all of its examined elements, links and functional conditions in the scope of the entire APK. Therefore, in the practical work in such a reorganization, it may primarily be a matter of applying the most successful and proven integral model and not of collecting its separate components from different countries. One must not, of course, fail to consider the special features of specific countries. But in a given case, the specificity may involve solely the forms and organizational approaches to putting into effect the principles, economic conditions, and basic directions in the reorientation of the economic mechanism toward efficiency and quality. By virtue of their objective nature, these very principles, conditions, etc. are mandatory regardless of the size of the country and other similar conditions not characterizing socialism as a system.

Everyone knows that the economic policy that the Soviet state began to carry out at the beginning of the 1920's on the basis of Leninist theoretical positions--and "seriously and for a long time" in its fundamental aspects--had its results, despite the complexity of the social and economy conditions. These results were achieved precisely because of the comprehensive and one-time application throughout the country of its fundamental and still-current principles, above all cost accounting, self-support, personal economic incentive, and responsibility. The new approaches to management methods in the APK of a number of CEMA countries are merely a skillful application of the indicated principles under new conditions and the specificity of individual countries of the socialist community does not hinder this application.

In this connection, one must not expect too much from local experiments in the restructuring of individual elements of management or even of its system as a whole. From the point of view of the objective laws, principles and conditions flowing from the very nature of socialism, an experiment in this area cannot be one-sided and partial, encompassing only certain separate levels or regions of the APK system. (Footnote 13) (From the experiment, as was emphasized at the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "it is necessary to proceed to the establishment of an integral system of management and administration" (including a reorganization of the "upper echelons" as well) [25]) With the first "contact" with traditional methods, instruments and forms of the planned management of the complex and economy as a whole (which can be seen, in particular, in the example of the Georgian State Committee for Agricultural Production and the Estonian SSR Agroprom), it immediately becomes clear that they are not producing the desired effect. In addition, in the case of changes that are merely local in nature and

especially affect only individual elements of the economic mechanism, it is possible to compromise clearly progressive initiatives and unquestionably expedient approaches affirmed by the positive results of their practical implementation in a unified complex and precisely in the scope of entire countries.

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SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

CEMA COOPERATION IN MACHINE BUILDING

Moscow PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO in Russian No 10, Oct 85 pp 21-28

[Article by Prof G. Stroganov, doctor of technical sciences, deputy chairman of Gosplan USSR: "Development of Reciprocal Cooperation of the USSR With CEMA Member-Countries in the Field of Machine Building"]

[Text] It was pointed out at the conference at the CPSU Central Committee on questions of acceleration of scientific and technical progress (11-12 June 1985) that in implementation of the scientific and technical revolution and reequipment of sectors of the national economy the leading, key role belongs to machine building. The rate of its growth is to be increased 1.5-2.0-fold during the 12th Five-Year Plan. At the same time, it is necessary to set up mass manufacture of new generations of equipment capable of producing a manifold increase in labor productivity and to open up a path to automation of all stages of the production process; to develop complete delivery of equipment. The catalyst of progress in machine building and for the entire national economy at the present stage is microelectronics, computer hardware, instrument making and the whole industry of informatics. They require accelerated development.

An important role in the solution of key problems of acceleration of transition of the economy to the path of intensive development, growth of the rate of economic growth and carrying out of broad modernization and reequipment of sectors on the basis of employment of the latest achievements of science and technology is being assigned to further development of cooperation with CEMA member-countries in the field of machine building and bolstering the interest of enterprises in work for export.

Machine building is the most dynamic sector of the national economy of the countries of the socialist community. During 1950-1985, production volume of machines and equipment in CEMA countries increased roughly 35-fold, with a 13-fold growth of all industrial production. At the present time, 25 percent of world output of machines and equipment falls to the share of CEMA member-countries.

The volume of trade in machines, equipment and means of transport between the USSR and other countries of the community grew from 330 million rubles in 1950 to 20.3 billion rubles in 1983. The Soviet Union cooperates in the field of

machine building with other CEMA countries on the basis of more than 200 agreements and treaties on specialization and cooperation of production encompassing more than 15,000 designations and type sizes of machine-building products. In the course of realization of these agreements, the USSR imports from the fraternal countries a part of what it requires in petroleum-, gas-production and metalworking equipment, different equipment for agricultural needs, means of transport (mainline passenger electric locomotives, isothermal and passenger cars) as well as vessels for addition to the sea, river and fishing fleets. The USSR in its turn supplies to the countries of the community high-production mining and machine-handling equipment, road construction equipment, tractors, motor vehicles and other machine-building products.

A new impetus to the development of cooperation, first of all in machine building, was provided by the Moscow (1984) Economic Conference of CEMA Member-Countries at the Highest Level. The decisions adopted by the conference are a significant step in coordination of the economy policy of socialist countries. They determine for the long term the basic directions of strategic economic development and expansion of economic cooperation by the fraternal countries. The decision of participants of the conference is of basic importance to improve planned bases of cooperation, especially coordination of national-economic plans as the chief instrument of coordination of economic policy, which should be concentrated on the solution of priority problems of economic development of the fraternal countries.

At the present time, coordination of plans in machine building for 1986-1990 and the more distant future is in its concluding stage. The concrete directions of joint activity of the fraternal countries have been coordinated in realization of major social and economic problems, particularly solution of the fuel and raw-material problem, the food program, increase in the production of high-quality consumer goods and development of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and chemistry. Questions of sectorial cooperation on a mutually advantageous basis were discussed, and a whole series of intergovernmental and interdepartmental agreements on economic and scientific-technical cooperation in the forthcoming 5-year period were prepared and signed. Solutions were worked out for more efficacious utilization of capital investment designated for the forthcoming 5-year period while taking into account dynamic reequipping of production. A number of long-term programs of cooperation up to the year 2000 between the USSR and countries of the community in the field of science, technology and production have been signed.

Work is continuing on expanding specialization, particularly cooperation of production for the most important directions of cooperation. This involves joint production of the complex of machines and equipment for mining of minerals, development of agriculture and equipment for the food and light industry, complex processing and preservation of food raw materials and other kinds of resources and systems of machines reducing the use of manual labor in different sectors of the economy, production automation equipment and others. Corresponding measures are being planned for raising the technical level and quality of reciprocally supplied products, further strengthening technico-economic invulnerability to imports from capitalist countries. At the same time, considerable attention is being paid to the creation of new competitive

machines, equipment and instruments and increased volume of their production.

Work also is being done by CEMA organs on coordination of plans for the next 5-year period and on the amendment and extension of existing agreements and within the framework of intergovernmental commissions for economic and scientific-technical development.

The Complex Program of Scientific and Technical Progress of CEMA Member-Countries for the Period Up to the Year 2000 will promote acceleration of scientific and technical development. A decision on its development was reached at the economic conference. The Complex Program will aid in concentration of resources and large-scale development of cooperation of the country along priority directions of science, technology and production: microelectronics, computer hardware and instruments and means of comprehensive mechanization and automation of production (including industrial robots and machine tools of the "Machining Center" type and flexible production systems), machines and equipment for atomic power engineering, promising materials, technology and biotechnology. Preparation of general agreements based on the Complex Program will make it possible to more quickly go to concrete action and to concentrate resources in key fields, ensuring a radical rise in labor productivity, maximum economy of material and technical resources and growth of the technical level and quality of production.

A foremost problem of cooperation in machine building is assistance in acceleration of comprehensive mechanization and automation of production, mass fabrication of equipment capable of providing a manifold rise in labor productivity and reduction of the use of manual labor in countries of the socialist community.

At the 40th meeting of the CEMA session (June 1985), a General Agreement on Multilateral Cooperation of Development and Organization of Specialized and Cooperative Production of Flexible Production Systems for Machine Building and Their Wide-Scale Introduction in the National Economy was signed. Creation is planned of highly automated equipment systems for different technological processes in production, transportation and warehousing and of systems of automated control and planning and a programmed, normative-technical and cadre provision. For example, in the USSR during the 12th Five-Year Plan it is planned to increase 1.8-fold the rate of introduction of flexible production systems (including fully automated sectors, shops and plants) and twofold--that of industrial robots.

As a result of rising labor productivity, economy of production areas, reduction of production cost and improvement of product quality, outlays on them are being repaid in 2-3 years. Of major importance is the creation of an international training, methodological and research center for flexible production systems which will become a supporting research and training base (comparable to the United Institute of Nuclear Research in Dubna). Work is underway on the creation of new designs of machine tools with numerical control, machining centers, precision machine tools of various technological groups, forging and pressing machines and other devices with built-in microprocessors. The General Agreement on Multilateral Cooperation in

Organization of Specialized and Cooperated Production of Industrial Robots is being successfully realized. There were worked out within the framework of this agreement the idea of technical development of robotics and a consolidated first-priority products list of industrial robots and their components. It includes 165 types of robots, 89 of which are already being produced.

Agreements have been reached and are being successfully fulfilled on scientific and technical cooperation and specialization and cooperation of production of basic equipment for mechanization of materials-handling and transporting and warehousing work. A products list has been developed of the most important complexes of machines and equipment providing mechanization and automation in the said field. The specialization program includes production of 19 types of lifting and transporting equipment with 320 designations.

In the field of complexes of machines and equipment for open-pit working of minerals and the construction of main pipelines, the draft of a treaty on multilateral international cooperation in production of heavy dump trucks, envisaging specialization for 13 designations of units and components, has been prepared. Their basic technico-economic indicators, provisional volume and times of reciprocal deliveries were determined. Work is underway on a new tractor with a capacity of 400 horsepower. In the USSR, models of powerful bulldozers and pipe-laying machines based on it have been prepared and tested. Moreover, in the USSR, GDR and Czechoslovakia, cooperation of production of rotor complexes with a productivity of 630 and more cubic meters per hour have been organized.

An agreement has been reached between the Soviet and Polish sides on carrying out work in Poland on raising the technical level and quality of diesels of the Volga type, excavators, railroad tank cars, equipment for the production of chipboard and fiberboard, equipment going into vessels and several other varieties of machines and equipment.

Chief features of the present stage of cooperation of CEMA countries in the field of machine building include transition to organization of cooperation on the basis of a comprehensive solution of the most important sectorial as well as intersectorial problems (from scientific research and design development for the creation of new equipment to the organization of its specialized and cooperative production and reciprocal deliveries) as well as a transition to the development of individual types for the creation of systems of machines based on standardized units, components and parts.

One of the forms of multilateral scientific-technical and economic cooperation occupying the foreground is joint work on priority directions of science and technology. The tempestuous development of electronics in particular is resulting in serious technical and social changes due to the character of relations between man and machine. With rising intellectual properties of the computer, the possibility is increased of shifting to it the solution of many problems of control of objects, data processing and so on. In this connection, there should be discussed realization of the General Agreement on Multilateral Cooperation on Development and Wide-Scale Employment of Microprocessor Equipment in the National Economy. Coordination of work on the

designing and fabrication of this equipment and basic program support is done within the framework of the Intergovernmental Commission for Computer Technology and on its use--within the framework of the CEMA Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation. Plans have been compiled for developing the resources of computer technology, and wide-scale use of microprocessors is planned on the basis of the latest products of microelectronics componentry. In the created micro- and minicomputers, unique componentry, interfaces, a system of commands and program support are used. They are compatible with the SM types of computers and existing peripherals being produced.

The chief fields of wide-scale use of micro- and minicomputers have been determined, making it possible to obtain the highest economic and social effect. These are primarily automated systems for controlling production processes (in chemistry, metallurgy, the petroleum and gas industry and others); systems of control over production equipment, machine tools, machines, power installations, electric drives, hydraulic engineering installations, industrial operations; control systems for power, line-dispersal facilities and transport flow-systems (high-voltage transmission lines, gas pipelines and the like); systems of organizational control, operative planning and dispatching, including systems for positions of engineering and technical personnel and employees; industrial, scientific and medical testing and diagnostic devices and instruments; apparatus and communication equipment for data processing and transmission; devices for conveyance machines and other types of machines; systems, devices and instruments for mass individual use and everyday designation.

Developmental work on the creation of a Unified System of Switching Equipment and Systems of Numerical Control of Machine Tools and Industrial Robots, conducted within the framework of pertinent multi- and bilateral agreements, is connected with the further growth of microelectronic componentry and micro- and minicomputers. An important role is played in this by sales of products of microelectronics and special production equipment, especially pure materials and computer hardware equipment.

In the manufacture of machines and equipment ensuring efficient utilization and economic expenditure of fuel and power, practically all kinds of power equipment, including AES, involved specialized production. Development is proceeding for equipment going into new large automated power units with a capacity of 220 to 1,000 megawatts and also for equipment for intracycle gasification of coal included in power installations with a capacity of 1,000 megawatts.

Accelerated growth of atomic energy is one of the priority directions in the development of the national economies of the fraternal countries. As of the beginning of 1985, atomic electric power stations with a capacity of more than 30 million kilowatts were operating in the USSR and other CEMA member-countries. This exceeds fivefold the 1975 level. In 1984, they produced about 180 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power, or almost 8 percent of its produced volume in the countries of the community.

An important role in the development of this sector in the fraternal countries is played by the Soviet Union. It provides them with comprehensive aid in

equipping and operating atomic electric power stations. With the technical cooperation of the USSR, 16 power units with a total capacity of 6,380 megawatts were put into operation in other CEMA countries. This constitutes a significant contribution to their fuel and power balances. Acceleration of the startup of new AES, increased unit capacity of power units and as a result a higher relative share of power produced with the aid of the peaceful atom as well as growth of the power potential of the countries of the social community are planned in the immediate future. The number of countries is growing in which atomic electric power stations are being erected and will operate. Cooperation in this field is being done on a multilateral basis. Back in 1979, governments of eight socialist countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Poland, Romania, USSR, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia) signed an agreement on international specialization and cooperation of production and reciprocal deliveries of equipment for atomic electric power stations for the period to 1990. The agreement provides for the manufacture in the participant countries of modern equipment involving more than 140 designations (more than 350 individual reference numbers and about 3,000 type sizes of special fittings) for AES with reactors of 440 and also of 1,000 megawatts. The participant countries assumed obligations not only relating to organizing the production of certain kinds of products but also to collective participation in the construction of atomic electric power stations and to fulfillment of installation and contract supervision of work for providing equipment with spare parts. At the same time, considerable attention is being given to ensuring the quality and reliability of products.

At the present stage, the basic direction of nuclear power engineering is production of electric power. At the same time, only 25-28 percent of fuel and power resources are used for production of the latter, while 35-40 percent are employed for production of heat for industrial and municipal sectors. This necessitates a revision of the structure of nuclear power engineering and searching for ways of ensuring that it makes a bigger contribution to the problem of heat supply.

The Economic Conference of CEMA Member-Countries at the Highest Level adopted a decision on preparing a program of construction of atomic electric power stations and atomic heat-supply stations for the period to the year 2000. For this purpose, the USSR is building near Gorkiy and Voronezh atomic heat-supply stations, while near Odessa construction has been started on a powerful atomic heat and electric power plant based on the VVER-1000 reactor.

Socialist countries have undertaken large-scale cooperation in the production of equipment for atomic electric power stations without precedent in international practice. Development of the programs AES and AST [automatic telephone stations] for the period to the year 2000 (with its adoption, cooperation of the fraternal countries in atomic power engineering and atomic machine building will enter a new stage and will be more widely developed) demonstrates with new force the doubtless advantages of socialism and the possibilities which it opens up for the solution with joint efforts of the most complex problems of scientific and technical progress.

In electrical engineering, the development and introduction into series production of standardized series of the most large-scale varieties of

products have been implemented. These operations for the entire cycle "science--equipment--production--sale" are of an integrated character: together with the creation of new types of production, production processes are perfected in necessary cases, high-efficiency equipment is being developed, progressive materials are being introduced and so on. This makes it possible to put out competitive electrical-equipment products at a high technical level while reducing in this connection the use of deficit materials and electric power.

Development has been completed of a standardized series of low-voltage asynchronous electric motors with heights of the axis of rotation varying from 45 to 355 mm (AI series). Results were considered in its planning of optimization calculations for minimum outlays in the national economies of the participating countries of Interelektro [no expansion available]. In the USSR, startup of production of the new series was initiated in 1983. In designed weight, motors of the AI series are 15-20 percent lighter than electric motors of the preceding 4A series and they exceed them in performance by 1.0-1.5 percent. Transition to the new series will make it possible for the participating countries of Interelektro to save each year 27,700 tons of electrical sheet steels, 1,800 tons of covering copper and 68,000 tons of pig iron. Annual savings of electric power will amount to 1 billion kilowatt-hours.

A series has been developed of power distribution transformers of general designation of capacity to 1,600 kilovolt-amperes and a voltage of up to 20(22) kilovolts. Transformers of the new series are of a high technical level. The economic effect from introduction of this series of transformers in the USSR reached 1.4 million rubles in 1984.

The joint efforts of electrical engineers of Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Czechoslovakia made it possible in a short period of time to practically supply in full the growing need of machine-tool building for complete electric drives. Thus in the Soviet Union, more than 100 models of machine tools with numerical control began to be provided with new electric drives coming from Bulgaria, Poland and Czechoslovakia. As a result, productivity of metalprocessing rose by 20-30 percent, reliability of machine tools increased and their kinematics were simplified. Cooperation in this field will undergo further development.

At Interelektro, the initiated design work is going on in the creation of new standardized series of electric drives, which, beginning with 1986, will be used not only in metal-cutting lathes but also in industrial robots.

A special place in the work of Interelektro is occupied by special production equipment. Joint work is underway on the creation of complexes of it for electrical-apparatus making, transformer construction and small-power electric motors and for the production of light transmitting cables, city telephone and control cables. In Hungary, the GDR and Poland, production of basic kinds of cable technological equipment has been developed. In the USSR capacities are growing for the production of technological equipment for electric machines and transformer manufacture. In Bulgaria and the USSR, capacities are being created for its production for the assembly of low-voltage apparatus and so

forth. It is planned to expand work on the creation of high efficiency special technological equipment for the production of electrical-equipment ceramics, galvanic cells, light-equipment products.

At the present time, a draft of the Long-Range Plan of Work of Interelektro for 1986-1990 has been completed. It reflects measures aimed at the realization of tasks set by the Economic Conference at the Highest Level, measures such as working out of Basic Directions of Scientific and Technical Progress in the Field of the Electrical Equipment Industry for 15-20 Years (including automation of production on the basis of use of microprocessor equipment and industrial robots), the development of power semiconductor equipment, the creation and introduction of electrical-engineering equipment for flexible production systems, nontraditional sources of current, light transmitting communication cables and so forth.

In the sphere of production of products of general machine-building application, proposals were prepared for the creation of individual standardized hydraulic cylinders, hydraulic prime movers, hydrojets of miniature use and pneumatic equipment for use in automation equipment, including for machines with numerical control and industrial robots. Realization of these proposals will make it possible to increase the reliability of hydraulic and pneumatic systems (by 30 percent), to reduce the specific metal intensiveness of hydraulic drives (by 40 percent) and pneumatic drives (by 30 percent) and to reduce their power intensiveness (by 20 and 25 percent) respectively.

In CEMA countries, joint work is going on in the field of comprehensive mechanization of agricultural production (both agriculture and animal husbandry) on the creation and manufacture of 265 designations of tractors and agricultural machines. Of them, 115 constitute new and modernized items. Approximately 70 designations of promising technical equipment are being developed. Moreover, in the countries of the community, specialization of production has been carried out in more than 600 designations of machines and equipment for efficient processing of agricultural raw materials. Machines and equipment of about 80 designations are being made for the food industry.

Good results are being provided from cooperation of international collectives of scientists and specialists. In this regard, the experience of operation of joint Soviet and Czechoslovak planning-and-design and technological bureaus for robotics is valuable. It has served as the basis for the creation of the Robot International Scientific and Technical Association.

As a result of successful progress in different priority directions in the countries of the socialist community, the structure of production and reciprocal deliveries of machine-building products is significantly changing in the direction of an increase in the relative share of progressive types of machines and equipment.

For the purpose of coordinating joint efforts on further development of machine building, the 39th meeting of the CEMA session (October 1984) adopted a decision to form the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in the Field of Machine Building. Its work is intended to contribute to the more successful

realization of the decisions of the Economic Conference at the Highest Level and implementation of a coordinated economic and scientific-technical policy in the field of machine building connected with mutually beneficial cooperation and assurance of the solution of major problems in the development of the national economy of CEMA member-countries.

An important direction of the work of the committee is engaging in work on coordination of state plans of CEMA member-countries in the field of machine building. Under the new conditions, a more improved mechanism of plan coordination is required. Based on coordination of economic policy, it at the same time must more deeply take in the production sphere of cooperation, including capital investment, and contribute to the development of stable and long-term cooperation on the basis of organization of direct ties among enterprises of the countries.

Improvement of the forms and methods of coordination presupposes expansion of the "planning horizon" beyond the limits of the 5-year period. This is primarily due to the decision of the countries to coordinate economic policy, which opens up a long-term perspective of deepening economic integration in the field of machine building. Long-term coordination along selected directions of cooperation creates prerequisites for the practical realization of continuity of planning of foreign economic ties through refinement of the long-term perspective in carrying out annual coordination of plans.

The committee and its permanent working organs are concentrating special attention on questions of creation and organization of specialized and cooperative production of the latest products of machine building--flexible production systems; systems for automation of design and technological work on the basis of wide-scale introduction of microprocessors; automatic manipulators with programmed control (designed on a unit-module base) for different sectors of the economy; self-propelled mining equipment for underground work; a complex of equipment for the use of condensed and liquified gas as an engine fuel and equipment for wasteless processing of food raw materials.

In April 1985, a meeting was held of the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in the Field of Machine Building, where a draft of a statute on the work of the committee and its permanent working organs was coordinated. It was approved at the 114th meeting of the CEMA Executive Committee. In addition, proposals and a list of priority problems of cooperation were approved and time periods were designated for working out concrete agreements. The plan of the committee's activity provided for preparation in the next 2 years of basic directions of cooperation in the field of machine building for 1986-1990 as well as long-term programs of development of multilateral specialization and cooperation of production for a most important products list of machine-building products to the year 2000.

The General Agreement on Multilateral Cooperation in the Development and Organization of Production (on a Cooperative Basis) of Flexible Production Systems for Machine Building was signed in June 1985. Fields were determined of cooperation in the creation of progressive resource-conserving technologies and organization of joint specialization of production of special-purpose

heavy machine-tools, track machines, equipment for mechanization of agriculture and for construction and chemistry, promising aircraft and helicopters for civil aviation and modern products of microprocessor and other equipment.

Uniting the efforts of machine builders of the fraternal countries at a new organizational level should contribute to the rise of machine building and on this basis provide in the end a solution of very important problems of the social and economic development of CEMA member-countries and strengthening of their technico-economic invulnerability and thus strengthen the position of socialism in the world.

The duty of workers of the machine-building complex of the Soviet Union is to do everything possible for the purpose of a more rapid transition of industry to the intensive path of development. In all sectors of the process of scientific and technical work (from the birth of an idea to serious production of new products), it is necessary to strive for model organization of the work so that one can greet with concrete deeds and new achievements the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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ETHNO-RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF MIDEAST LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 85 pp 2-4

[Article by R. Landa, doctor of historical sciences, under the rubric "Approaching the 27th CPSU Congress": "The National and Social Content of Liberation Revolutions"]

[Excerpts] Every national movement in human history has had a certain social content. The ruling elite and the privileged strata of the oppressor tribe, people, or nation have always held sway over a subjugated tribe, people, or nation. But it is precisely this elite group or these strata which have always acted (and continue to do so now -- not without success) as the defenders of the so-called general interests of their own tribe, people, or nation. In exactly the same way the upper classes or substrata of an enslaved ethnic group, pursuing their own interests during the liberation struggle, try to pass them off as all-people's interests.

V.I. Lenin taught that "In the nationalities issue, rather than abstract or formalistic principles the focus should be on, first of all, a precise consideration of the specific historical situation and above all the economic situation; secondly, clear differentiation of the interests of the oppressed classes and working and exploited people from the general concept of people's interests overall, which means the interests of the ruling class; thirdly, an equally clear differentiation of oppressed, dependent nations without full rights from oppressor, exploiter nations with full rights, to counter the bourgeois-democratic lie which covers up the colonial and financial enslavement of the great majority of the earth's population, which is typical of the bourgeois epoch of financial capital and imperialism, by a tiny minority of the richest, most advanced capitalist countries."¹

This Leninist position provides the key to analyzing such a complex mosaic of social organisms and ethnic groups as we find in the countries of the East today. For here capitalist social relations (and, consequently, the national relations which correspond to them) do not simply coexist with, but are closely intertwined with precapitalist relations and social ties. Archaic social and political features manifest themselves here not only in the countryside but also in the city, because most of the citizens (both the well-off and the poor) maintain family, economic, and other ties to the countryside and to the patriarchal community or the ancestral clan. In these conditions,

regionalism, religionism, class and caste contradictions, and loyalty to a religious leader or another traditional leader are nearly always taken as more significant than the worldview and sociopolitical thought of modern man, acquainted with at least the minimal achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and possessing a developed class consciousness. However, this consciousness is quite multilayered, for the Asian and African countries of our day are characterized by complex and intricate class contradictions, frequently concealed (especially in the consciousness of the illiterate majority of simple people) behind a screen of pseudocontradictions.

It is important to bear this in mind because, given the transitional nature of most Afro-Asian societies, live embodiments of this social transiency, many-sidedness, and multileveled nature -- part peasant-part worker, part farm laborer-part sharecropper, semifeudal-semicapitalist, and so on -- predominate in their structure over "pure" bearers of capitalist or any precapitalist relations. Frequently one person combines several social characteristics in himself. For example, a member of a peasant commune can be simultaneously a feudally enslaved "khammas" ("serf" who receives one-fifth of the harvest or even less), periodically work as a farm laborer, and even go off to the city for long periods of time (up to 2 years) where he more is more likely to become unemployed than a proletarian worker. At the apex of the social hierarchy the social characteristics of one and the same person can be even more diverse. A large landowner, in particular, is often at the same time both a traditional tribal leader (including a nomadic one), a titular feudal lord, a large entrepreneur who in his farm combines slave-owning and capitalist forms of exploitation, and a shareholder of foreign enterprises, as a rule local branches of transnational corporations.

At the same time, a city in the East almost universally (although in different forms in different countries) keeps sociopolitical leadership in its own hands. But this does at all predetermine a decisive role for contemporary-type urban classes and substrata linked to capitalist ways or to the way of state capitalism. After all, at bottom almost every citizen -- from the proletarian and petty bourgeois to the government servant and private entrepreneur -- combines to one degree or another his social functions in the "contemporary" sector with those in the "traditional" sector, that is, he behaves, especially in sociopolitical and spiritual (but sometimes also in economic) life, as a member of a certain tribe, ancestral clan, caste, sect, ethnoreligious community, or religious fraternity.

In almost every country of Asia and Africa where one can speak of the emergence of independent nations, the process of their formation has not yet been completed (suffice it to recall the Berbers in the countries of the Magrib region or the Copts in Egypt who, while an important element of nationality integration in their own countries, still maintain their ethnic uniqueness. At the same time, we should mention the extremely high proportion in the East of foreign minorities in each country; the historic explanation for this is usually not only ethnographic or political (migration, conquest, change in borders of neighboring states). In olden times and in the Middle Ages ethnic demarcation was frequently related to the corresponding division of labor and had economic significance. The elimination of this division in modern and recent times is directly related to the elimination of feudalism

and especially medieval survivals and was by no means carried out universally and completely.

The distinguishing feature of the national-liberation revolutions in the East today is that they were carried out by a broad block of social forces, heterogeneous in both social-class and national-ethnic composition. Various elements of this block were united by common interests, above all the need to throw off the yoke of imperialism. Strictly speaking, revolutions in the East are in many cases anti-imperialist and anticolonial overthrows which attempt to solve the tasks of liberation from the colonial yoke of not one people or one nation but several peoples and sometimes (for example, in India) several nations.

Partially to take revenge and in any case to undermine and weaken the anti-imperialist unity of the liberation movement, the neocolonizers try to break down the coalition of social and national forces opposing them, utilizing the objectively existing differences among these forces and attempting to turn these differences into contradictions.

Therefore, aside from the internal causes of national-ethnic overlapping in the countries of the East, there is a powerful factor which artificially aggravates international and interethnic relations in the region. This factor is the influence of imperialism, which tries to fan old disputes and disagreements and support traditional and where possible create new conflicts on the grounds of nationalism, chauvinism, xenophobia, mutual intolerance, and antagonism stemming from national inequality under the law, the lack of uniformity in sociocultural development of specific peoples and tribes, and the inadequacy of political positions and privileges acquired by the elite group of one nationality or another.

The usually multinational population composition of the young Afro-Asian states enables rival social and political groups to turn conflicts stemming from internal (sometimes nonantagonistic) contradictions in the direction of international and intertribe hostility. Usually the hostility of ethnic groups is supplemented by the religious factor since the groups as a rule are independent in the religious sense as well. Frequently the exploiting classes try to drown class contradictions in the hysteria of national hostility or religious dissension.

The neocolonialists skillfully utilize this entire difficult-to-untangle complex of ethnic and religious contradictions and conflicts to interfere in the internal affairs of young states, and also to provoke military confrontations between these states. Suffice it to mention the war which has been going on between Iran and Iraq since 1980, the activities of the Sikh separatists incited by Western special services in the Indian state of Punjab and of the Berber "particularists" in the countries of the Magrib, and the problems of the Islamic Moros in the Philippines, the Tamils in Sri Lanka, and the Kurds and Assyrians in the Near East.

A classic example of using the ethnoreligious factor in the interests of imperialism and reaction is the escalation of events in Lebanon since 1975. There the attempts of the army and then of right-wing Christian forces to

destroy the Palestinian Opposition Movement and the national-patriotic forces led to the civil war of 1975-1976, which ceased only as a result of Syrian intervention, but later resumed as a result of U. S. and Israeli incitement in Lebanon in 1982. After 1982, along with the rise of the partisan movement against the occupying forces in the country, armed conflicts based on religion erupted both among the right-wing Christians and among national-progressive forces. They were a direct consequence of the intrigue of imperialism and local reaction, who crave to confront the Lebanese and Palestinians, Christians and Muslims, Druze and Maronites, and Sni'ites and Sunnis. It is important to the enemies of progress that ethnic and religious principles replace the political and class aspects of what is occurring in the people's consciousness.

The above clearly points to the close link of the national factor with the general nature of the social and political development of the entire region. This link has also been noted in the program documents of not only communist but also revolutionary-democratic parties. In particular, the Charter of the Algerian National Democratic Party says that in Algeria "from the very beginning the national movement has taken on uncommonly broad social scope"; as a result the independence won by this movement "is becoming a synonym for the complete reorganization of society." In another place the Charter contains even more precise words: "In our epoch national and social liberation are inseparably connected to each other. Firm condemnation of colonialism inevitably leads to condemnation of capitalism."

In this case we are speaking of a political-ideological phenomenon rather than a socioeconomic phenomenon, since national capitalism in the countries of the East in fact exists and develops with all the inevitable consequences. Nonetheless, the situation resulting from a certain willingness of capitalism in the East to compromise and even from forced "anticapitalism" among even part of the national bourgeoisie (though only in words and in a historically very brief period) creates favorable conditions (or rather, is one of these conditions) for revolutionary-democratic antibourgeois transformations. How and in what form these transformations will be implemented and how permanent they will prove to be is another matter.

The history of recent decades has given many examples of both the successful and the unsuccessful implementation of progressive policies. As M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, noted, the development of young independent states after the failure of colonialism "has taken place unevenly; it has known and knows its own ebb and flow and achievements and tragedies." Nor are these states insured against them in the future, since they "still have to solve very complicated problems, both those inherited from the past and those engendered by the policies of neocolonialism."

As the highest point of the liberating anticolonial movement and pursuing above all the goal of eliminating foreign oppression, the national-liberation revolution in the contemporary East at the same time acts as a form of social struggle. It completes the period of direct political (and frequently armed) struggle against traditional colonialism based on direct force, foreign economic coercion, plundering, and national-ethnic oppression. But with the

gaining of independence former colonies run up against the complex mechanism of the world capitalist system where people begin to strip them legally, so to speak, in accordance with the economic laws, regulations, and stimuli of capitalism. In this connection, the struggle of young states with the active support of the countries of socialism for a new, fairer economic order becomes important. This struggle is very closely linked to the internal social and economic transformations whose realization (and results) is in many respects impeded by the influence and pressure of neocolonialism, which still maintains levers of influence on the liberated countries.

Consequently, the national-liberation revolution in the particular conditions of the Afro-Asian world of our day is not only a manifestation and form of social struggle impossible outside of it, but also an important phase of its development which separates the qualitatively different periods of this struggle. After the victory of the national-liberation revolution the struggle rises to a higher level characterized by more precise demarcation of class and political forces, their more developed recognition of precisely their own social interests, and a new regrouping of social coalitions for the purpose of continuing and intensifying the opposition to imperialism in new conditions. But even in the changed circumstances a dialectical interconnection of national and social liberation is maintained in the next round of social evolution and in the new stage in the development of the revolutionary process in the East.

FOOTNOTE

1. V.I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 162.

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POST-REVOLUTION SOVIET-KOREAN RELATIONS RECALLED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 85 pp 14-15

[Article by B. Pak, doctor of historical sciences: "Soviet Russia and Korea"]

[Article] The Great October Socialist Revolution, which proclaimed the freedom and equality of peoples and respect of their national rights, was especially important for the countries of the East, among them Korea, which was groaning under the yoke of Japanese imperialism. Next to Korea emerged the first worker-peasant state in the world; this state triumphantly announced the repeal of secret predatory treaties concluded by the tsarist government with imperialist powers and published them. Among the treaties which came to light was the Russian-Japanese Alliance Treaty of 3 July 1916. Concerning this treaty V.I. Lenin wrote in the same year: "It is well known that a new secret treaty has already been concluded between Russia and Japan, to supplement their earlier treaties (for example, the treaty of 1910 which let Japan 'devour' Korea while Russia devoured Mongolia)."¹

Korea has a common border with Russia. Therefore, a large part of its population was in continuous economic, political, and cultural contact with the Russian people, which made it easier for the ideas of the October Revolution to penetrate. Even more essential was the fact that Great October caught tens of thousands of Korean seasonal workers in Russian territory.

When the civil war broke out in the Far East in 1918 and foreign intervention began, progressive representatives of the Korean population, understanding that the fate of Korea depended on the fate of the Soviet State, rose up in arms against the foreign invaders (whose main force in this region was Japanese troops -- the main enemy of the Korean people's freedom and independence) and the white counterrevolution. A total of 36 Korean partisan detachments numbering 3,700 people operated there. Detachments uniting some 3,000 people, which had come to the Russian Far East from Korea and Manchuria, were also part of the struggle against the Japanese interventionists.

Korean internationalists also served in the ranks of the Red Army and the People's Revolutionary Army of the Far Eastern Republic. Korean soldiers of the 25th Division under the command of V.I. Chapayev fought courageously against the White Guards. The 5th Army of the Eastern Front had Korean subunits. The 1st International Division imeni III Internatsional was formed

in Irkutsk in March 1920; it included a Korean company which took part in the fighting in early 1920 against Kappel's forces, who were trying to break through to Irkutsk.

Information on the October Revolution penetrated into Korea through various channels. But its real heralds were Korean working people who had been in Russian territory and returned to the homeland; they brought truthful information on the young Soviet State, all the more valuable since immediately after the October victory the Western bourgeois press began to flood Korea with the most absurd rumors of the end of Soviet power which was drawing near or had already come. And these rumors were believed, especially by those who wanted to believe them. Thus, on 14 November 1917 Ya.Ya. Lyutsh, the former Russian consul general in Seoul, wrote to the chief of the Far Eastern Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the fallen Provisional Government about his joy regarding the news that "At the head of a detachment of 200,000 Kerenskiy had taken the capital while Lenin was hiding in the 'Aurora.'"

Help from the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) and the Soviet Government played an important role in disseminating the ideas of the October Revolution and Marxism-Leninism in Korea. Already in late 1918 -- early 1919 the Eastern Division of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs published the "Constitution of the Soviet Republic" and the "Appeal of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the RSFSR to All Working Muslims of Russia and the East," the "Note of the Soviet Government to U.S. President Wilson," and other documents in Chinese and Korean. In early 1920 the "Communist Manifesto" and the brochures "K. Marx and the Materialist Worldview," "On Socialism," "V.I. Lenin," "The Teachings of Karl Marx," "On Worker Trade Unions," and "On the Land Question" were translated into the Korean language and brought across the border by Korean revolutionaries. Materials on the October Revolution and V.I. Lenin were also published in the Korean legal press, in particular in the newspapers CHOSON ILBO and TONA ILBO (the latter had its own special correspondent in Moscow -- Li Hwan Yen). The series of articles "Who Is This Nikolay Lenin?" presented in 52 issues of TONA ILBO in July-August 1920 aroused especially great interest among readers. On the basis of this publication the book "Lenin and the History of the Russian Revolution" with a portrait of V.I. Lenin was published in 1922.

As a result of the infiltration into Korea of the ideas of scientific socialism, Marxist-Leninist circles began to be set up there. The first of them emerged in October 1919 among workers in Seoul. Within half a year a workers union was established under the name of "Choson nodon kondzhekhve" ("Korean Society of Worker Mutual Assistance"); it had 15 branches -- in Taegu, Inchon, Wonsan, Pusan, and other cities.

The first Korean communist organizations were formed in Soviet Russia in 1919-1920 with the help of the Russian bolsheviks. According to incomplete data, there were 16 of them in late 1920 and they numbered 2,305 members and candidates. The Congress of Korean Communist Organizations of Russia and Siberia was held in Irkutsk on 12 July 1920; this congress elected a central committee and charged it with organizational work to prepare for the Constituent Congress of the Korean CP.

This congress was held on 4-15 May 1920. The delegates sent a telegram of greeting to V.I. Lenin: "The Constituent Congress of Korean Communist Organizations which met in Red Irkutsk, liberated by the Russian revolution, sends greetings through you to the world and the Russian proletariat. Your audacity has borne fine fruit. Your glorious deeds have spread with lightning speed to all corners of the world, made the hearts of all unfortunate people of the East beat more quickly, kindled in them the flame of the active struggle against the oppressors, and led them onto the nearest path to inevitable victory."

B.Z. Shumyatskiy, the Comintern representative and head of its Far Eastern Secretariat, gave two major reports at the congress: "The International Position of Korea and the Immediate Tasks of the Korean CP" and "Is the Formation of a Unified Korean CP Well Timed?"

The congress elected a central committee and adopted drafts of the party by-laws and program and the "Protocol of the Constituent Congress of the Korean CP." Nonetheless, the party they proclaimed, with 8,730 members and candidates from 32 Korean communist organizations, was not strictly proletarian. It was rather a union of primarily petty bourgeois intelligentsia who were cut off from their homeland and people, though they had done much work under the influence of the Russian bolsheviks to explain to Koreans the ideas of scientific communism and solidarity with the Russian proletariat in the struggle against international imperialism.

The October Revolution caused a new surge in the anti-Japanese movement in Korea. On 1 March 1919 peasants, students, teachers, employees, and merchants of Seoul, Pyongyang, Uiju, Chinnampo, Wonsan, Anju, and a number of other cities and large towns of Korea began to set up rallies and demonstrations under the slogan "Long Live Korean Independence!" Soon mass unrest erupted in 211 of 218 of the country's districts. The Soviet newspaper IZVESTIYA wrote at that time: "It is not surprising that coming in contact with the Russian revolution, Korean rebels put the experience of the October revolution to use in many ways. Thus, for example, in places seized by the rebels, the Koreans expelled Japanese and Korean officials and organized Councils of Korean Poor."

The Korean working people who lived in other countries actively responded to the people's uprising of 1919. On 17-18 March 1919 mass demonstrations of Koreans took place in Vladivostok and other cities of the Russian Far East as a sign of solidarity with the heroic action of Korea's popular masses.

The uprising elicited a wave of fervent solidarity with it in Soviet Russia.

V.I. Lenin devoted a great deal of attention to supporting the liberation struggle of the Korean people. He made a direct study of questions of enlisting the broad masses of Korean working people in active political life. It is well known that back in early 1919 he had carefully acquainted himself with "samples of agitation literature in Chinese and Korean for dissemination in Siberia and the Far East and sent to him for his information from the Eastern Division of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs."²

V.I. Lenin repeatedly received letters from Korean revolutionaries and met with them. For example, between 17 July and 6 August 1921, as recorded in his "Biographical Chronicle," he "receives the letter of 17 July 1921 from representatives of the Korean Maritime Oblast bureau of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) Li Don Hui and of the Korean Amur Red Youth A.A. Kim (Afanasiy) with the news that two reports have been sent to him -- one on the tasks for Koreans in Russia and the other on the creation of the Korean CP, with a request to be received -- and he makes a note to send the document to the Comintern ispolkom."³

Personal meetings and conversations with the leader of the world proletariat were especially important for the Korean revolutionaries. One of them took place on 28 November 1921 when the members of the Korean delegation at the 2nd Comintern Congress, Li Don Hui, Wan Do, Pak Chin Sun, and A.A. Kim (interpreter) met in the Kremlin with V.I. Lenin. During the conversation V.I. Lenin listened to Li Don Hui's report on the economic and political situation in Korea; he was interested in the organization of underground communist circles and groups and the conditions of the struggle of the Korean revolutionaries; he asked about the causes of the defeat of the people's uprising in March-April 1919; he asked how many of the Korean communists knew Russian, and advised that one of them write a book on the revolutionary struggle in the Far East; and he said that "this book must be translated from Russian to all the European languages so that the entire world knows about the revolutionary events in the Far East."⁴ "During the conversation V.I. Lenin said, "We were living in cultural centers while you were being persecuted by the imperialists and forced to wander through the hills and forests. International aid must be organized for you."⁵

This aid was given in the following years. It had various forms. In particular, cadres of Korean Marxists were trained in Moscow at the Communist University of the Working People of the East and a number of organizations of the USSR International Organization for Aid to Fighters for Revolution helped prisoners in Korean prisons, and so on.

There is information that in 1922 V.I. Lenin met with Korean revolutionaries who had taken part in the work of the congress of peoples of the Far East. Members of the Korean delegation -- Hero of the People Hon Bom Do (he was given an engraved revolver in Moscow), the communist-internationalist Chkhve (he was a member of the presidium and the congress mandate commission), and Han Myon Se -- were received by V.I. Lenin along with representatives of other delegations.

Continuing the Leninist political line on the Korean liberation movement, the USSR has invariably acted in support of the freedom and independence of the Korean people. The defeat of imperialist Japan in 1945 by the Soviet Army played a decisive role in liberating Korea from colonial dependence and putting it on the path of the building of socialism.

The Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid concluded between the USSR and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1961 is the firm foundation of strengthened Soviet-Korean friendship and cooperation. The

many-sided ties of the two countries continue to be fruitfully developed on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 30, pp 187-188.
2. V.I. Lenin, "Biograficheskaya khronika" [Biographical Chronicle], Vol 6, July 1918 --March 1919, Moscow, 1975, pp 476-477.
3. Ibid., Vol 11, July-November 1921, Moscow, 1980, p 697.
4. Ibid.
5. See: "O Vladimire Iliche Lenine. Vospominaniya. 1900-1922 gody" [On Vladimir Ilich Lenin. Memoirs. 1900-1922], Moscow, 1963, p 616.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

EXAMPLES CITED DESCRIBE PALESTINIANS AS DISTINCT NATIONALITY

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 85 pp 17-19

[Article by V. Mishin under the rubric "Solidarity with the People of Palestine": "Not 'Simply Arabs' But the Palestinian People"]

[Excerpts] Every year on 29 November the public of many countries of the world, on the appeal of the United Nations, celebrates the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. On this day 38 years ago the General Assembly adopted resolution No 181 (II) on the decolonization of Palestine. In accordance with this document, the British mandate ceased in this territory where two independent sovereign states -- Arab and Jewish -- were to be set up. The right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination was thereby unequivocally recognized.

Nonetheless, even today the Palestinians are still deprived of the opportunity to realize their own legal national rights. Supported by the United States, Israel continues to deny these rights, in particular on the grounds that the Palestinian Arabs are supposedly not a people. "Such a community as the Palestinian people simply does not exist!" the prime minister of Israel Golda Meir often repeated. And although recently Israeli leaders are trying to refrain from this kind of public statement, the approach to the Palestinian problem in the spirit of Golda Meir remains the cornerstone of Tel-Aviv policy.

The theory of the late Israeli premier continues to appear in hundreds of periodicals of the West, especially the United States, which are under the influence of the Zionists, and in dozens of books by bourgeois authors. The anthology from the Middle East Institute in Washington, "Myths and Facts on the Arab-Israeli Conflict," which is updated every year, can be cited as an example. The term "Palestinian people" is not found in this book; the subject is only "Palestinian Arabs" or "Palestinians." The authors of the collection write as follows on ways to solve the Palestinian problem: "Palestinian Arabs must be dispersed among their own people in the vast Arab lands whose area is more than 5 million square miles, where there is space and oil and -- what is most important of all -- money to arrange for these people."

Inasmuch as the main argument of those who deny the existence of a Palestinian people, asserting that the Palestinians are "simply Arabs," belongs to ethnography, it is precisely there that we will look for counterarguments.

Above all let us note that in ethnography the concept "people" (in the sense of "peoples of the world") is designated by the term "ethnic group ["ethnos"]." This means a "stable, historically developed, intergenerational group of people who live in a particular territory and who possess not only common features but relatively stable characteristics of culture (among them language) and psyche as well as the consciousness of their unity and distinction from all other similar formations (self-consciousness), which is fixed in their own name (ethnonym)."¹

Let us try to look at the Palestinians through the prism of this definition given by a leading Soviet ethnographer.

First of all, the origin of the Palestinian Arabs. Briefly, they are "descendents of the ancient inhabitants of the country: Phoenicians, Canaanites, and other Semitic peoples who intermingled with the Arabs and learned the Arab language after the Arabs conquered Palestine."² The well-known English diplomat and scientist E. Henderson, who for many years worked in Palestine, writes in more detail: "Modern Palestinians descend from the native population, Phoenicians and Canaanites with an admixture of those numerous peoples who subsequently ruled this country. Many inhabitants became Christians at the very start of the Christian era. But most adopted Islam after 637 A.D. when Arab elements were added to it during the Islamic conquests. Despite the changes in religion, long-term changes in the ethnic mixture were very minor. Today's Arab-speaking inhabitants of Palestine are direct descendents of peoples who have consistently occupied these lands since the beginning of human history."

From the experts' opinions cited, it follows that the Palestinians are precisely a "stable historically developed, intergenerational group of people in a particular territory." Palestinian Arabs lived continuously in the particular territory for hundreds of years until 1948, when the majority of them were exiled by the Zionists. In connection with this, the question may arise: is the fact that a large number of the Palestinians are still beyond the borders of the native land after 40 years proof of the disintegration and disappearance of the Palestinian ethnic group? The answer to this question should be unequivocal: no, it is not. As Academician Yu.V. Bromley points out, "While operating as a major condition of the formation of an ethnic group, territorial integrity is not a strictly compulsory factor of the reproduction of all its parts." As an example we can cite the Armenians, who not only live in their native land, Soviet Armenia, but in Syria, Lebanon, France, the United States, and a number of other countries -- Armenians who preserve national originality.

In analyzing the specific features of a particular ethnic group, specialists emphasize that in the main they are usually concentrated in the area of culture. In light of this, those cultural features which distinguish this ethnic group from neighboring ethnic communities must be singled out above all. In this case we are speaking of the differences between the Palestinian

Arabs and the neighboring peoples -- Egyptians, Lebanese, Syrians, and Jordanians in the area mentioned.

Let us begin with language since "of all the components of culture in the broad sense of the word, language usually possesses the most clearly expressed ethnic functions."³ As is well known, both the Palestinians and the neighboring Arab peoples use the same language -- Arabic. "When several ethnic groups speak one language... as a rule each one contributes its specific features to that language. It can be a different alphabet or orthography, phonetic features, vocabulary, or specific turns of speech or phraseological combinations."⁴ Orientalists who have studied the Arabic language and visited various Arab countries know well how true this is.

The cultural unity of the members of an ethnic group is inseparably linked to the existence in them of certain general features of the psyche. And the psychology of the ethnic group is a particular manifestation of psychic characteristics common to all mankind -- determined by the specific historical (natural and social) conditions of its existence. A change in conditions inevitably involves a change in the ethnic character and a change in the system of motivations.

This general theoretical proposition can easily be illustrated by the example of the Palestinian Arabs. Their almost 100-year tragedy has left a noticeable mark on the psychology and system of values not only of the exiles but of those who live in Israeli territory or the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza strip. The first psychological feature of the Palestinians is a relatively low level of religious belief as compared to other Arab peoples. In Palestinian refugee camps there are many fewer mosques than in neighboring villages; unlike most Arab armies the military detachments of the Palestinian Opposition Movement do not have chaplains, and the religious elite does not play an appreciable role in political life. Obviously, this is the result of a number of interrelated causes which stem from the historical experience of the Palestinians. Thus, in the years of the British mandate, the Muslim clergy headed the Palestinian liberation movement. Its inconsistency and mistakes, as the Palestinians themselves now widely acknowledge, was one of the fundamental factors in the Palestinian tragedy which has unfolded since the late 1940's. The discrediting of the clergy in the role of leader of the liberation forces could not fail to also have an effect on the general attitude toward religion. On the other hand, the rich experience of the political struggle beginning in the mid-1960's also helped secularize Palestinian society. It must also be taken into account that the Palestinians have a very high educational level.

An exceptional thirst for knowledge is another psychological characteristic of the Palestinian Arabs. The socially unstable position of the exiles or of those who live in conditions of foreign occupation has caused major adjustments in the value system of the Palestinians. For most of them, property, which was paramount in neighboring countries, receded to a secondary level; education, the least vulnerable factor and one that fosters a worthy life regardless of military-political disasters, became paramount.

In addition to these psychological characteristics of the Palestinian Arabs, two more of their distinctive interrelated features can be singled out. The first is an unusually strong love for the homeland. For those in exile it is manifested in constant and vigorous actions to return to the homeland and in the careful preservation of relics from it. The key to the family home is especially popular among them. But the relic can also be a handful of native Palestinian soil or an olive branch from their garden, which has dried up long ago, or even a garden gate. Tens of thousands of young people are fighters in the Palestinian Opposition Movement and thousands of Palestinians work one way or another within the PLO apparatus to help the exiles return to their native land and found an independent national state there. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs, no matter where they live, give some form of assistance to the PLO. Thus, in many Arab countries Palestinians deduct part of their earnings into the Palestinian National Fund every month.

In recent years, and especially in the period of the summer 1982 Israeli aggression in Lebanon, the Palestinians have shown forms of heroism and self-sacrifice such as modern Arab history has almost never known. Palestinian soldiers have fought to the death, knowing full well that achieving military victory over the enemy, who outnumbered them 10-fold and had a hundred times more arms, was impossible. Nonetheless, they fought desperately and threw themselves under Israeli tanks holding clusters of grenades.

The question of ethnic self-consciousness is closely related to the psychological characteristics of the ethnic group. Its development, as Academician Yu.V. Bromley emphasizes, depends in many respects on the intensity and nature of the interrelations of the ethnic group with its neighbors. This effect is especially strong in periods of hostility and armed conflict.

It is precisely this process which has been taking place in recent decades with the Palestinian Arabs. The clash with the racist conceptions of Zionism and the aggressive policies of Israel, which has victimized hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs, has immeasurably intensified their national self-consciousness and the Palestinians' devotion to their national culture, national art, and traditions and customs, and interest in their own history has substantially increased.

Many examples of this devotion can be cited. A special department exists under the PLO whose function is to preserve the Palestinian cultural legacy. The development of traditional people's art is encouraged in every possible way. This task is performed by the "Samed" society and by social organizations in occupied territories. Creative unions of Palestinian writers and journalists have been set up: the Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists and the Union of Palestinian Artists.

The Center for Palestinian Research has existed in Beirut for many years. Its associates have formulated the problems of Palestinian history and culture and collected a large number of unique documents. Let us note that the center was plundered by Israeli soldiers in September 1982 during the brief occupation of West Beirut. In 1975 the publishing house "Dar al-fata al-arabi" was organized; it specialized in publishing books for children, especially

Palestinian popular fairy tales and biographies of the heroes of the Palestinian people.

In order to understand the degree to which the national self-consciousness of the Palestinians has developed, a quotation from the brochure "The Philosophical Foundations of the Formation of Palestine for the Arab People," published by the PLO back in 1972, is worth citing. "Feelings of patriotism and an inviolable link with the land of their fathers must be strengthened in the rising generation. The imagination of children must be awakened so that they will always remember the homeland, love it, and yearn for it. It is also essential that children know and revere the heroes of our struggle not as martyrs but as people who gave their lives for freedom. Let the children be prepared to follow in their fathers' footsteps."

All this undoubtedly has its fruits. Jack Redden, an American UPI correspondent who worked in the Near East for several years, once noted: "If you ask a group of five-year olds what nationality they are, most won't know, but a Palestinian kid will always say that he's a Palestinian."

So, even a superficial application of the theory of the ethnic group to Palestinian reality shows very convincingly: Palestinian Arabs are an independent people. As for the Zionist theory that Palestinians are "simply Arabs," this is antiscientific and has very definite political purposes: to substantiate retention of the Palestinian lands seized by Israel in 1967 as a colonial frontier.

The Zionists support their "theory" with the practice of terror against the Palestinian people -- both in occupied lands and beyond their borders. The criminal attack by Israeli planes on PLO headquarters in Tunis on 1 October 1985 caused particular indignation in the world community. Such actions aim at frightening the Palestinians and forcing them to capitulate to the invaders. But, as experience shows, they cannot break the determination of the Palestinian people.

The just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for their inalienable national rights, including the right to self-determination and the creation of their own independent state, enjoys growing international support. The resolve of the Palestinians to achieve the goals set, despite the conspiracies of imperialism and Zionism, multiplied by the solidarity of all honorable people of the earth guarantees that sooner or later they will again be able to live and work peacefully in their native land and determine their own destiny.

FOOTNOTES

1. Yu.V. Bromley, "Ocherki teorii etnosa" [Essays on the Theory of the Ethnic Group], Moscow, 1983, pp 57-58.
2. "Strany i narody. Zarubezhnaya Aziya. Obshchiy obzor. Yugo-Zapadnaya Aziya" [Countries and Peoples. Non-Soviet Asia. General Survey. Southwest Asia], Moscow, 1979, p 362.

3. Yu.V. Bromley, op. cit., pp 111-112.

4. Ibid.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

BENIN'S POLITICAL, SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT VIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 85 pp 23-25

[Article by M. Ilinskiy: "Benin: Light Above the Lagoons"]

[Excerpt] Long ago the ocean deposited an enormous sand bank on the coast of West Africa; it dammed up small rivers which were seeking a way to the vast Atlantic. In this way innumerable 2-5 kilometer freshwater lagoons joined by channels emerged on the territory of present-day Benin, formerly Danomey. Slaves fleeing from Portuguese and later, Dutch, French, and English slave traders used to hide in these lagoons. They were fished out, put in irons, and taken to the other side of the ocean. Not for nothing was Dahomey called the Slave Coast in the 17th-18th centuries.

Nodichao, a man of letters and a fine storyteller, acquainted me with the exhibits of the National Museum in the city of Abomey. Fellow countrymen who had visited the Soviet Union nicknamed him "The Andronnikov of Benin." He is the grandson of the king of Bekhanzin, who led the Dan people's struggle against the colonizers at the end of the last century. My guide stops at a picture of an Amazon warrior from the King's Guard (in "uniform" -- a sky-blue top and a black miniskirt) delivering a fatal blow to a French officer."

"However courageous, proud, and hardy our people were, with their antique weapons they could not stop the French expeditionary forces," sighs Nodichao. "Here, for example, is the first mortar, given by Napoleon the 3rd to King Glel in 1867. But not one of us knew how to fire it. Military instructors were invited -- four Germans and a Belgian. But they became accomplices to the kidnappers and stole away to Togo with even this old cast iron cannon."

"In 1892 Abomey fell," continues the descendant of the glorious Bekhanzin, "and in 1894 the country was declared a colony. The new masters considered the wild-growing oil palm its only wealth. They turned all the southern part of Dahomey into a continuous plantation linked to the mother country's market, where palm kernels and oil were sold. But the one-crop system means hunger. Rarely did a year pass without uprisings, demonstrations, and strikes. After World War II the national liberation movement in French West Africa intensified, trade unions increased their role in it, and political parties were formed. On 1 August 1960 Dahomey received nominal independence.

I had already discussed the future destiny of the country with local colleagues in Cotonou, the main political, economic, and cultural center. (Incidentally, translated from the language of the Fon people the very name of the city means "lagoon of the fallen," in memory of the slaves whose blood colors the waters here).

As if picking up Nodichao's last phrase, an employee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin (PRPB) Central Committee, the professional journalist E. Degla says to me, "Our independence was nominal. The neocolonialists kept strong positions in the economy and used their puppets to smother democratic rights. But the thirst for real freedom is unquenchable. Patriotically-inclined army men overthrew the pro-West regime. On 30 November 1972 the current president of the republic Mathieu Kerekou published the program of the military-revolutionary government, setting the goal of carrying out fundamental social transformations, and quickly began to break up the old state apparatus and form a new one.

Today this is already history, so it is useful to recall the main milestones in the development of the revolutionary process in Benin. On 30 November 1974 the government announced its intention to lead the country onto the path of a socialist orientation and soon set up committees to defend the revolution; just a year later the People's Republic of Benin was proclaimed -- it is 10 years old. On the same Sunday the People's Revolutionary Party of Benin was created. In May 1976 the Extraordinary Congress elected M. Kerekou chairman of the PRPB Central Committee and approved the program and by-laws of the "vanguard party which reflects the interests of the working class and the poorest peasants and craftsmen."

August 1977. The National Council of Revolution adopts a new constitution which stresses that revolutionary power relies on a broad alliance of all patriotic and revolutionary classes and social strata. The party's program documents classify industrial workers, peasants, craftsmen, soldiers, state employees, middle and petty merchants, and the revolutionary intelligentsia as such classes and strata, and workers and peasants comprise the core and foundation of the alliance. A great deal of attention was devoted to interethnic relations. This is understandable: in Benin, with 3.65 million people, there are more than 60 different nationalities. The National Revolutionary Assembly became the supreme organ of legislative power.

E. Degla and I went to the parliament building early in the morning.

"In the summer of 1984," he tells, "elections were held to the second convocation of the assembly. Then 196 people's commissars -- deputies -- elected its standing committee of 15 and the president. M. Kerekou again occupied this post. According to the constitution, he is at the same time head of the government, of the National Executive Council.

Public initiative is developing parallel with the bolstering of state organs. A single trade union center has been set up: the National Alliance of Trade Unions of Benin Working People. The Organization of Revolutionary Youth was formed in August 1983 at a forum in the city of Parakou. The Organization of Revolutionary Women began to function even earlier. All of them are expected

to help more extensively enlist the masses in building a new life, develop the economy, increase labor productivity, and maintain discipline at enterprises. The performance of these tasks is especially important for a republic which even now is one of the 30 least developed countries of the world.

"Economic emancipation is a necessary condition for achieving genuine independence," emphasized the instructors of the National Center of Revolutionary Indoctrination, Pierre Chinchin and Viktor Kochikpa, who helped me thoroughly investigate the work of the mass organizations. "But how can this be achieved? Obviously, it will be mainly by strengthening the state sector, which already has 55 enterprises, cooperation in the countryside, and introduction of planned methods of economic management. Through the Supreme Planning Council the state fully or partially monitors key economic spheres: banking; foreign trade; production and distribution of electricity and petroleum products; railway transport; and manufacturing industry. As a result the positions of foreign capital have been substantially weakened in Benin.

But the "formers" do not want to abandon their bridgeheads without a fight. External and internal reaction are stubbornly resisting the progressive transformations and trying by their subversive activities to aggravate the difficulties the republic is encountering.

Degla and I left the Southern Cross Hotel, passed the Coconut Palm movie theater, and a square opened before us. In the middle of it was a monument to the patriots who died repulsing the armed attack of the invaders trained by imperialist special services.

"A soldier with an automatic rifle, a woman in the clothing of the legendary Amazons, and a peasant with a machete. According to the sculptor's plan, they symbolize the national resolve to defend revolutionary gains from any infringement," my companion explains. "We are successfully performing this task, but it is more complicated to overcome the economic problems. Like other developing countries, Benin is experiencing the ruinous consequences of the crisis being experienced by the world capitalist economy."

President M. Kerekou already spoke of this at the parliamentary session in January 1985. Severely condemning the selfish policies of the industrially developed Western countries, who are attempting to solve the crisis at the expense of young states, he noted in addition that certain factors on the local level are also negatively affecting Benin. For example, because of the small amount of precipitation and poor production organization, agriculture is having satisfactory results only in cotton growing. National industry suffers from a shortage of raw materials and a restricted market. Foreign trade is encountering protectionist barriers even in the West African region. Since 1983 the amount of state budget capital has been decreasing.

To correct the situation, the president demanded that all existing material, financial, and human resources be maximally mobilized and correct management of production be insured. Development of small and medium-sized enterprises must be emphasized, and reorganization of the state and mixed sectors must continue.

The port of Cotonou is extremely important to the country's economy. Its first wharf was built back in 1891. At that time only small ferryboats, tugboats, and boats which brought freight from ocean-going ships which shallow water forced to drop anchor on the roadstead moored there.

"The only place you'll find out about that today is from old reference books," Degla smiles. "The port of Cotonou today is a modern enterprise, the gates to the sea not only for Benin, but for Burkina Faso and Mali as well. The annual freight turnover is more than 1 million tons! Largely thanks to the port the city has become our economic center where most of the country's enterprises are concentrated. All the main ministries have come here from the official capital, Porto Novo; and the residence of the head of state is here."

SOBETEX, the largest textile plant in the country, a cement plant, an oil crop processing plant, and a beer and nonalcoholic beverages plant are located in Akpakta, the work region of Cotonou. Two of them have been nationalized.

A meeting with the makers of fabrics decorated with national ornamental designs awaited me at SOBETEX. Six masters worked miracles with pencils, drawing suprisingly fine patterns on tracing paper. The choice of colors is also no small art. Up to seven colors and shades are usually drawn on the fabric while the best types have 12 tints. Arsen Iabi, one of the managers of the local trade union, proudly reported that the factory's articles are popular in many countries of West Africa.

But nonetheless the main sector of Benin's economy is agriculture, where almost 90 of the population works. Not far from the city of Lokossa I talked with a graduate of the Moscow Veterinary Academy, Valentin Somasse, the head of a state livestock farm. There are four of them in all in the republic.

"Agriculture must be improved as soon as possible," he said with conviction. "What is the Benin countryside? Semifeudal relations not yet eliminated, old-fashioned farming techniques, and low productivity. A large part of the fields are planted with food crops, but foodstuffs must be imported. Only the creation of cooperatives and state farms can transform the agrarian sector. But we must not rely on the export of palm oil alone forever, although we have all of 80 million palm trees. And in general," Valentin concluded, "existing reserves must be used intelligently."

There are many such reserves in the country. For example, in 1980 petroleum extraction from platforms on the continental shelf began and in 1982 the Seme oil fields located in relatively shallow water near the Benin coast went into operation. On the average they yield about 0.5 million tons of petroleum a year. It is a modest figure, but after all the republic's needs are still small. In addition, geological surveying is being expanded, and who knows...

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SIGNIFICANCE OF ISLAM IN INDONESIAN POLITICS ANALYZED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 85 pp 29-31, 37

[Article by L. Yefimova, candidate of historical sciences, under the rubric "Ideology and Politics": "Islam and the Sociopolitical Life of Indonesia"]

[Text] The role of Islam in the sociopolitical life of Indonesia has sharply increased since the mid-1970's. The number of Muslims who regularly visited mosques and holy places and zealously followed religious rites and instructions began to grow rapidly. Muslim slogans began to be used widely in the political struggle and even by representatives of those ideological-political groupings which were formerly not notable for adherence to the Muslim religion and acted from positions of secularism. By the mid-1980's a broad opposition movement to the ruling regime, whose like had not been seen in the entire history of the independent development of Indonesia, had taken shape in the country under the flag of Islam. In the fall of 1984 a number of antigovernment demonstrations involving confrontations with the police and human victims took place in Jakarta and other major cities of Java under the slogans of Islam.

Indonesia is the largest country in the world in terms of Muslim population and occupies fifth place among the states of the earth in terms of the number of inhabitants. According to official statistics, about 90 percent of the more than 160 million people who live there profess Islam. In the environment of increased Islamic political activism noted in recent years in the Muslim world, the events in Indonesia become especially portentous. The question of the political prospects of the Muslim religion in the country is being put on the agenda; this will be important to the fate of this world religion both in Southeast Asia and in the Muslim world as a whole.

Islamic parties and organizations have always played an important role in the sociopolitical life of Indonesia. It historically developed that precisely these parties and organizations were the spokesmen of the interests of the basic mass of the national bourgeoisie and landowners, dissimilar in both the sociocultural and the political sense, who grew up back in colonial times. They were the "Mashumi" Party (the "Consultative Congress of Indonesian Muslims"), the "Nakhdatul ulama Party ("Ulem Rebirth"), the PSII (Muslim Union

of Indonesia), and the "Perti" Party ("Movement for Islamic Education"). The largest of them, "Mashumi" and "Nakhdatul ulama," favored different variants of private-owner capitalism "corrected" and "improved" by the moral-ethical precepts of Islam. The small PSII and "Perti" Islamic parties favored establishing petty bourgeois-type "Muslim socialism," which they interpreted differently, in Indonesia. The "state of Islam," interpreted differently by various groupings, was proclaimed the political ideal of Muslim circles. The dominant influence of Islam on all spheres of life was declared the main feature of this state. The Islamic parties were followed by a significant but fully defined part of the Indonesian population, persons distinguished by religious zeal and personal loyalty to the Muslim leaders or those who were economically dependent on the prosperous Islamic strata.

Although after Indonesia achieved political independence power was invariably in the hands of bourgeois groupings, attempts to move the country to the path of capitalist development encountered great difficulties. The predominance in the economy of traditional forms of economic units and the conservative and bureaucratic forces corresponding to them was still absolute. The economic and political weakness of the traditional bourgeoisie linked primarily with Muslim circles led to the victory of the bureaucratic forces. A system of "directed democracy" and a "directed economy" characterized by concentration of political and economic power in the hands of the bureaucratic state apparatus was established in the late 1950's. In this system the army, which was primarily formed of representatives of those sociocultural substrata of Indonesian society for whom Islam was not a determining factor of their way of life and worldview and, as a result of this, distinguished on the whole by a negative attitude toward Islamic circles, occupied strong but veiled positions. Islamic and other civilian groupings were pushed aside. State ideology, arrayed in "socialist" clothes, was worldly in nature and Islam occupied an insignificant place in it.

The bureaucratic bourgeoisie began to be rapidly formed from the milieu of the bureaucracy, above all army officers, and on the basis of the state sector which had been created in the country and occupied leading positions in the economy, as well as nationalized foreign property; it continued to operate within the framework and under cover of the state sector. Bureaucratic capital not only destroyed the state sector itself but also undermined the economic positions of the traditional national bourgeoisie, already weak and linked mainly to the Muslim groupings. On the outside this looked like an attack by the state sector on private national capital. Therefore, the discontent of the traditional bourgeoisie was focused above all on the system of the "directed economy," which insured a dominant position for the state sector in the economic sphere.

In 1965 the army seized the political initiative, eliminated the system of "directed democracy," and began to establish a "new order." Muslim parties and organizations gave the soldiers substantial assistance and support in the cause of demolishing the old regime, hoping that with the elimination of "directed democracy" and its attributes -- the "directed economy" and the ideology of "Indonesian socialism" -- they would be able to substantially improve their political positions and insure favorable conditions for

realizing the economic interests of the traditional strata of the national bourgeoisie as well as manage to increase the influence of Islam.

Nonetheless, in the first years of the "new order," the army elite completely seized power in Indonesia. The absolute power of the army was reinforced through elections to the parliament in 1971 where, with the direct support of the authorities and the armed forces, the pro-government Golkar organization got the overwhelming majority of votes cast. The Islamic parties were able to get slightly more than 27 percent of the vote.

Muslim groupings did not want to reconcile themselves to the absolute power of the military and waged a struggle for access to the levers of state control under the slogans of strengthening the positions of the Muslim religion. In order to deprive the Islamic parties and organizations of mass support, trade union, women's, youth, peasant, and other social organizations were removed from their control. Political activity in the countryside was intensified. All the country's parties were by force grouped into two: Muslims comprised the United Development Party (UDP) and the remaining five parties became part of the Indonesia Democracy Party (IDP). The activities of the UDP and the IDP were put under the strict control of the military.

The struggle to select a path of economic development within the framework of capitalism went on parallel to the struggle for power. Muslim groupings favored the elimination of the dominant positions of the state sector and the free development of national private enterprise with the support of the state. As for the ruling army elite, since the 1970's it had adopted a course for the country's economic development where the main feature was the accelerated formation of new forms of bureaucratic capital which received legal status precisely within the framework of the state sector.

Today bureaucratic capital remains in the hands of representatives of the army who seized dominant positions in the organs of management in the center and locally. At the present time about 40,000 servicemen occupy civilian posts in the state apparatus. A significant number of the cabinet members are military men who are either on active duty or retired. Almost 80 percent of the key posts in the ministries belong to military personnel, including former ones. Approximately 65 percent of the gubernatorial posts in the provinces are in the hands of active-duty officers or retirees. Military personnel control hundreds of companies, beginning with banks and insurance societies and ending with firms which deliver wood and control bus service, maritime shipping, and air transport. They even head the three major state companies: "Pertamina" (extraction of oil and gas), "Bulog" (rice growing and trade), and "Tambang Timah" (tin mining).

Inasmuch as the representatives of the military bureaucracy did not have the ability or experience in entrepreneurial activity, they began to recruit and use representatives of private business as business partners. These were primarily foreign and local Chinese traders.

The traditional strata of the national bourgeoisie linked with Islamic circles were deprived of access to state subsidies, privileges, and profitable orders. Inasmuch as they continued to remain economically weak and had inadequate

entrepreneurial experience and business ties, the military bureaucracy was not interested in cooperating with these strata and did not recruit them to participate in privileged economic groupings. The interests of the traditional strata of the national bourgeoisie were sacrificed to bureaucratic capital.

Not only did the government's economic policy not take note of the needs of the old groups of entrepreneurs, most of whom were closely linked to Islamic circles, but it was openly discriminatory in regard to them. This led to the ruin of more than 10,000 local businessmen back in the early 1970's. Protecting the interests of the old substrata of the national bourgeoisie, the Muslim groupings demanded that the government's "new order" economic line be changed, favorable conditions for the economic activity of broader groups of national entrepreneurs be created, closed privileged capitalist groupings and the predominance of Chinese capital be eliminated, and the activities of foreign monopolies be limited. Muslim circles criticized governmental policy from the positions of Islam.

Starting in the late 1960's the government of Indonesia began to conduct a course to accelerate the capitalist transformation of agriculture; this intensified the processes of social and property differentiation in the Indonesian countryside. Mainly the prosperous rural elite closely linked to the military administration as well as the new substrata of trade-moneylender capital formed from among the military could take advantage of the fruits of the governmental course. The old trade-moneylender strata linked primarily with Muslim circles were quickly forced out of the sphere of intermediary trade in rice and from moneylending transactions. Their incomes and control over production on poor peasant farms began to decline sharply. This led to greater discontent among the old substrata of rural bourgeoisie, moneylenders, and landowners who were closely linked with the Islamic clergy and were the main bulwark of the Muslim parties and organizations in the countryside.

In this way, accelerated capitalist modernization has been implemented in Indonesia since the late 1960's. The bureaucratic nature of capitalism was a serious obstacle to the development of the traditional strata of the national bourgeoisie who had been removed from the levers of state management, were suffocating from excessive competition with the state monopoly sector, and were monitored by the closed and privileged ruling military elite.

The absolute power of the military and their economic policy led to sharp aggravation of the contradictions, above all between the Muslim groupings representing the interests of the traditional strata of the national bourgeoisie and the ruling regime.

The corruption and absolute power of the military, the government's economic policy which was in conflict with the interests of the main mass of Indonesians, the impact of the Western way of life on Indonesia, and the decline in morals and morality were condemned from the positions of Islam. Criticism of the existing ways by Muslim figures found a fervent response among the broadest strata of Indonesian society. The UDP, in which the "Nakhdatul ulama" occupied dominant positions, won the sympathy of most of those dissatisfied with the "new order." The party demanded that the people

be granted real election rights, social and economic transformations in the interests of the entire population rather than only the privileged groups, equality and justice, and observance of the law.

The leaders of the party emphasized that this program could be realized only on the basis of Islam. It is true that as a result of the repressive measures of the government, the UDP lost five seats in parliament in the 1982 elections but it still managed to get 28 percent of the votes cast. The worried authorities adopted measures to push the "Nakhdatul ulama" figures out of the UDP leadership and to change the Islamic nature of this party. These plans of the authorities were realized during the 1st UDP Congress in August 1984. People loyal to the government were elected to leadership posts. The UDP adopted a decision to proclaim the five principles of the Indonesian state -- the "Pancha Shila" -- as the ideological foundation, thereby rejecting its Muslim character. As a result of this, at its congress in December 1984 the "Nakhdatul ulama" announced its renunciation of political activity and withdrew from the UDP. Another Muslim party -- the Muslim Alliance of Indonesia -- also followed its example and announced its return to purely religious-education activities.

Removed from the leadership of the party, which was completely in the hands of pro-government factions, the leaders of "Nakhdatul ulama" and the Muslim Alliance of Indonesia did not see more opportunities for themselves to wage a struggle for their interests within the framework of the UDP, which in addition had been deprived of its Muslim ideological base. Focusing attention on religious-education activities in contrast opened up, in their opinion, broader prospects for strengthening the positions of the "Nakhdatul ulama" and the Muslim Alliance of Indonesia among the masses, for carrying out agitational work in the countryside, and for Muslim political propaganda through the branch network of Islamic religious figures and educational institutions. The Muslim religious figures in the cities and rural areas, leaders of private Islamic schools, and the mentors of the Islamic "tarekat" brotherhoods began to use mosques, prayer houses, and religious ceremonies to criticize the government from the positions of Islam. The government's attempts to prevent this invariably encountered the statements of the Muslim clergy that according to Islamic doctrine, religion and politics are inseparable.

Muslim bourgeois groupings were thus converted into the nucleus of the opposition movement to the "new order" regime. Their demonstrations from the positions of Islam against the absolute power of the military, violations of the norms of bourgeois democracy, corruption, and the predominance of foreign capital found a broad response.

In conditions where Indonesia has a law against communism, where any manifestation of dissatisfaction and the smallest criticism of the government is viewed as subversive communist activity and a call for rebellion, the Islamic form of antigovernmental propaganda proved perhaps the only possible form of opposition activity. It attracted the attention not only of people who were adherents of Islam but of all those who were dissatisfied with the "new order" and had not formerly been noted for religious zeal.

The democratically-inclined urban intelligentsia and youth who spoke against the authoritarian features of the regime began to support the actions of the Muslims and their slogans. They began to vote for the Islamic party, take an active part in its rallies, and gather in mosques and prayer houses where Muslims sermons were accompanied by criticism of the government and political problems were discussed during religious ceremonies. Young people hung slogans and posters criticizing the existing systems from a Muslim religious standpoint in the mosques and "holy places" and distributed leaflets and cassette tapes with religious sermons of an antigovernmental nature. The Muslim form of criticism of the authorities also proved to be accessible and understandable to the simple people, especially the most desolated strata.

The accelerated capitalist modernization of Indonesia resulted in major social changes. The sharply increased erosion of traditional forms of economic activity was not accompanied by the corresponding formation of new economic structures. The development of capitalism in the Indonesian countryside, especially on the island of Java, led to a rapid increase in agrarian overpopulation. Land resources in Java were already practically used up. The enormous rice-growing regions were converted into reservoirs of mass poverty and pauperism. The processes of land concentration and the break-up of small peasant farms accelerated. Approximately 70 percent of the rural inhabitants in Java are completely landless or extremely small tenant farmers.

Modern enterprises, whose creation demands the concentration of significant financial and material resources, increase the need for highly skilled personnel, which excludes the possibility of the productive use of a significant part of the able-bodied population who do not possess this quality and requires that specialists from abroad be recruited. In 1975 only 5 percent of the work force in Indonesia had vocational training and could be considered skilled. According to data for 1979, about 388,000 people were engaged in all enterprises belonging to foreign monopolies in Indonesia; this is less than 1 percent of the country's labor resources. But 28,000 highly skilled foreign specialists and administrative employees worked at these same enterprises.

Underemployment and unemployment have continued to be the most crucial social problem since the "new order" was established in Indonesia. The unceasing "purges" of "unreliable" elements from among employees of the state administration and people working at enterprises are throwing many thousands of people into the streets. Forcing "surplus population" out of the rural areas and to the cities is enlarging the army of the unemployed. In 1983 the number of fully or partially unemployed people was about 20 million. Young people suffer most acutely from unemployment.

The conditions of life and labor of the popular masses of Indonesia are difficult. The cost of living is steadily rising. Indonesian workers are paid an amount several times less than foreign specialists doing the same work. Workers with low incomes comprise the largest group of working people. The surplus of work force predetermines the arbitrary rule of employers and keeps Indonesian working people in continual fear of the threat of losing their jobs. Strikes are in fact completely prohibited in Indonesia. Trade unions have been put under the control of the authorities. Any manifestation

of dissatisfaction by workers at enterprises, especially those in the state sector, and demands for improved conditions of labor and daily life are viewed as incitement of class contradictions. The dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideology is prohibited by law. Trade unions and other social organizations controlled by the state do not fulfill the functions of protecting the interests of workers and employees. Therefore, working people have gladly begun to visit mosques and listen to criticism of existing systems by Muslim religious figures.

The accelerated development of capitalism in Indonesia is leading to expansion rather than contraction of the "poverty sphere." More than 40 percent of Indonesians are below the official "poverty line." Their income per capita is less than 100 dollars a year, which makes Indonesia one of the leading countries in the world in terms of poverty level.

Religion is becoming the bulwark of the peasantry, who are losing the ground from under their feet as a result of the collapse of their customary patriarchal ways under conditions of accelerated capitalist modernization. The lumpen proletarians who are flooding the major cities and whose status is characterized by the greatest level of social and psychological instability are readily responding to religious appeals.

Islam has been converted into a symbol of the struggle against the existing ways, corruption, the predominance of foreign capital, and the deepening of the abyss between the wealthy and the poor, that is, against all the negative phenomena which have emerged in Indonesia as a result of accelerated capitalist modernization being carried out by the government. Intensification of external manifestations of Islamic religiosity has become the main method for the broadest strata of Indonesian society to protest in conditions of the violation of bourgeois-democratic freedoms in the country.

The growth of opposition within the framework of the Muslim religion seriously worries the ruling circles since Islam is a banner which is capable of mobilizing a great many people -- starting from the peasantry and ending with the traditional strata of the national bourgeoisie and even representatives of the military elite who have been removed from power. But the opposition movement that has taken shape under the Muslim slogans is multilayered and heterogeneous both in the socioeconomic and the ideological-political sense. Devotion to Islam and the desire for the "Islamic path of development" is not so much the connecting link as is dissatisfaction with existing ways.

The groups operating under the banner of the Muslim religion have different goals and plans for reorganizing the country's sociopolitical and economic life.

Islam in Indonesia is capable of raising broad circles of society to the struggle, but it can hardly serve as a platform for unification or become the ideological and political basis for their unity. The ideas of the Islamization of the state and society, and even more so the creation of a theocratic state, are inseparable for a large part of the Indonesians; the history of the struggle of Muslim groupings to make independent Indonesia Islamic has repeatedly proved this.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

MAURITANIA AFTER 25 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 85 pp 36-37

[Article by N. Podgornova under the rubric "Countries, People, Times":
"Mauritania: Achievements and Tasks"]

[Text] Independent Mauritania is only a quarter of a century old: up to November 1960 for 4 decades it had been a colony of France whose dependence had an extremely negative effect on all aspects of its life. The country was one of the worst in Africa and in the world in terms of level of national income per capita -- 100 U.S. dollars (incidentally, Mauritania did not have its own monetary unit until 1973). There were no modern sectors of the economy and production was in the main handicraft-artisan production. However, Mauritania has resources for developing industry -- both the mining and the manufacturing industry. There are large deposits of iron and copper ore, industrial reserves of ilmenite, nonferrous metals, and radioactive elements. The coastal waters of the Atlantic are rich in fish. Nonetheless, mineral resources were not mined. Manufacturing industry was represented by a few enterprises where fish was dried and smoked.

Three-quarters of Mauritania's population was engaged in nomadic and seminomadic livestock breeding and farming is on the subsistence level. These two main spheres of economic activity accounted for about 65 percent of gross national product.

Foreign, mainly French, capital occupied the predominant positions in agriculture. Foreign trade was also controlled by French monopolies. Livestock, dried and smoked fish, resin (gum arabic), and dates were exported from Mauritania. Foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods were the main items it imported. And the country's foreign trade did not even consider international statistics separately but recorded them by the group of states: Mauritania -- Senegal -- Mali.

Essentially Mauritania did not even have its own capital. The construction of the capital on the site of the small village of Nouakchott on the Atlantic Coast began only in 1958 but before that time the city of St. Louis located in Senegal served as the administrative center.

The archaic structure of traditional Mauritanian society, which was formed in the mid-17th century, was preserved almost intact from that time until the end of the 1960's. The overwhelming majority of the population was illiterate.

When Mauritania gained independence, it had to attempt to solve complex political, socioeconomic, ethnoracial, and cultural problems which were a legacy of the colonial past. Proclaimed as the main tasks were the struggle for economic independence, overcoming cultural backwardness, and insuring the national unity of the Mauritanian people. Islam, which most of the population professed, was to become the basis of this unity, according to the leadership's plan.

In 1961 the first constitution of independent Mauritania was adopted and Mauritania was declared an Islamic Republic. The National Assembly -- the country's supreme legislative organ -- and the unified ruling "Mauritanian People's Party (MPP) were created.

Mauritania's government adopted a course to rigorously conserve financial means and create a state sector. Primary attention was devoted to developing the mining industry as one of the main sources of foreign currency revenue. Thanks to this, the country's foreign trade balance invariably had a quite substantial positive balance in the 1960's. The mining industry's share in creating gross national product in that period was 25 percent, but by 1982 had increased to 43.7 percent.

The food industry, led by the sugar-refining and fish-processing sectors, was developed at a comparatively rapid rate. Some growth was noted in light and chemical industries. The foundations of heavy industry were laid.

Medium-sized and large modern enterprises which were part of the state or mixed (with the participation of foreign or local capital) sectors of the economy emerged.

As for the infrastructure, the republic today has two major seaports (Nouadhibou and Nouakchott) and three international airports (Nouakchott, Nouadhibou, and Nema) and a number of local airfields in various cities. Highways are being built.

Certain advances have been made in the field of education and training of personnel: the number of children and adolescents who go to school has increased more than 10-fold, the number of schools themselves -- slightly more than 3-fold, and the number of teachers -- 6-fold.

The health care system is being strengthened. In many cities hospitals, district medical points, and dispensaries have been built and sanitary posts and continually operating mobile prophylactic groups to fight epidemics have been set up. National medical cadres, mainly middle-level personnel, are also being trained.

Changes have occurred in the social structure. The development of trade-monetary relations, especially in the southern part of the country, helped

create conditions for forming the bourgeoisie and the working class; a national intelligentsia has appeared.

The average annual rate of increase in gross national product in constant prices was 6 percent in 1960-1980 and its value increased during that period 5-fold while national income per capita reached 480 U.S. dollars.

However, there are difficulties in Mauritania's economic development; they are mainly the result of the lack of adequate sources for internal savings. An acute shortage of monetary capital compels Mauritania to resort actively to foreign financial aid, which leads to an increase in indebtedness.

Mauritania's long one-sided orientation to preferential development of the mining industry ultimately led to worsening of the financial-economic indicators of the national economy. In the 1970's the decline in demand and in the world price level for the basic Mauritanian export goods -- iron and copper -- led to a decline in demand and in the world price level for the basic Mauritanian export goods -- iron and copper and this was the main item of state incomes.

A major obstacle in the path of the economy's development is its multistructured nature, which preserves the predominance of precolonial structures in a large part of the country's territory. The many years of drought which fell on Mauritania in the late 1960's and continue to the present have done substantial damage to the economy. There are not enough domestic foodstuffs and the country has been forced to import a substantial amount, whereas in the 1960's it exported food products.

Mauritania's participation in the mid-1970's in military actions against the Polisario Front in Western Sahara was one of the causes of the economic difficulties. The war required enormous expenditures. The increase in economic disorder was accompanied by the exacerbation of the domestic political situation. On 10 July 1978 a coup d'etat took place. The military, which the broad masses and the progressive community supported, took power. The former president was arrested and the National Assembly and the Mauritanian People's Party were disbanded. On 12 December 1984 the new military overthrow was complete.

The chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation, Maaouiya Ould Sid Ahmed Taya, who became head of state, announced on 12 December 1984 that Mauritania respected the obligations in the field of foreign policy that it had adopted earlier and expressed support for the national-liberation struggle of the Arab people of Palestine, condemned Zionism, racism, and racial discrimination in the Republic of South Africa, affirmed his country's adherence to the Treaty on Brotherhood, Cooperation, and Good-Neighbor Relations between Algeria and Tunisia (signed in March 1983) with which it had aligned itself in December 1983 and recognition of the Sahara Arab Democratic Republic (February 1984), and expressed support for solving the problem of Western Sahara by peaceful, political means as well as for expanding cooperation with all countries and peoples.

Mauritania is a member of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, and the League of Arab States and an associate member of the European Economic Community. Nonalignment, cooperation with all countries on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage, and the struggle for general African unity were officially proclaimed the main principles of its foreign policy. Mauritania's traditional foreign economic partners are France and the other EEC member countries.

Mauritania's ties with the Soviet Union are being developed (diplomatic relations were established in 1964). Bilateral cooperation is being carried out in the fields of trade, geology, marine fishing, science, and culture, including radio broadcasting. A large group of Mauritanian students are studying in the USSR.

In the field of foreign policy Mauritanian leaders are emphasizing the normalization of finances, an upsurge in the economy, and solving the food problem, in particular through agrarian reform. The people of Mauritania, which has passed the quarter-century mark of its national independence, still face complicated tasks.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

COLONIAL PAST, INDEPENDENT PRESENT OF VANUATU DESCRIBED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 85 pp 44-45

[Article by Yu. Maslov under the rubric "Countries in Brief": "Vanuatu"]

[Text] In 1980 the Republic of Vanuatu was added to the list of young sovereign states.

From the geographic standpoint the country is a vast conglomerate of islands formed by the New Hebrides archipelago and the Banks and Torres island groups. The more than 80 islands which comprise the republic are scattered over an enormous expanse of water in the southwest part of the Pacific Ocean between 12 degrees and 21 degrees south and 166 degrees and 171 degrees east. The total area of the islands is 14,800 square kilometers.

According to a 1982 estimate the population of Vanuatu is 123,000 people. It is a polyethnic country. To be sure, more than 90 percent of its population are Melanesian but they are represented by slightly more than 100 nationalities. About 2 percent of the inhabitants are Polynesians. Small numbers of Vietnamese and Chinese are also found. As for Europeans, two-thirds of them are French and the rest are English, Anglo-Australian, and Anglo-New Zealanders; they are mainly owners of plantations and enterprises and missionaries.

The islanders speak hundreds of languages and dialects, most of which are Melanesian belonging to the Austronesian language family. According to the constitution, Bislama, a unique hybrid language, is the language of interethnic communication: a large part of the words are English, though with fundamental phonetic changes, and the grammar is Austronesian. The English and French languages also perform a similar function.

The religious composition of the population is mixed. About 84 percent of the islands' residents are Christian, 13 percent -- adherents of traditional faiths, and the rest -- Buddhists.

The first contact of local residents with Europeans dates back to 1606 when the Portuguese captain Pedru Fernadesh de Kirush, who was in the service of the Spanish king, discovered the island he called the Southern Land of the Holy Spirit, or, abbreviated, Espiritu Santo. In the second half of the 18th century the New Hebrides were almost at the same time visited by two expeditions: the French expedition headed by Louis Antoine d'Bougainville (1768) and the English expedition under the leadership of James Cook (1774).

After them, whalers, as well as merchants who were attracted, in particular, by the sandalwood which was in great demand in China appeared in this region of the Pacific Ocean. The Europeans began exporting it in 1825 and in such substantial quantities that in the 1860's there was practically none of this valuable species of tree left on the islands. Somewhat later, in the middle of the past century, missionaries and planters from France and England began to settle there.

The islands which now form the state of Vanuatu became the object of acute competition among these European powers, who were forced in the end to come to a compromise; as a result a political regime which is quite rare in world history was established there -- a condominium, that is, joint rule by two states in this territory. In accordance with the convention signed by Great Britain and France in 1906, the New Hebrides were declared an Anglo-French condominium with a joint administration whose the National Assembly -- the French supreme commissar with equal rights. Taking advantage of the lack of citizenship among the native inhabitants who did not want to be under the protection of either England or France -- since, frankly speaking, they were little concerned about the fates of the islanders -- the colonial authorities created full arbitrary rule. How the condominium operated can be judged if only by the fact that the local wits (and not from the aborigines but from the Europeans) revised this word to "pandemonium" -- "the kingdom of demons." Naturally, the native population from whom the colonizers had taken the best land and who were subjected to merciless exploitation hated the foreign oppressors.

The scope of the anticolonial movement broadened after World War II. Its force was such that the Anglo-French authorities began in 1957 to create a consultative council, transformed in 1976 into the Representative Assembly which played the role of parliament until the country became independent.

Elections to the national parliament held in 1979 were an important milestone in the history of the New Hebrides. The "Vanuaaku" Party, which subsequently fought for the islands' independence, won the elections. To a significant degree this victory predetermined their future destiny: on 30 July 1980 a new sovereign state officially named the Republic of Vanuatu was proclaimed. "Vanuatu" means simply "land" in all Melanesian languages and dialects as well as in the Bislama language. Nonetheless, the native population of the islands puts a different, higher meaning in the name of their state and in this context translates this word as "country which was, is, and shall be."

The Republic of Vanuatu is a member of the Commonwealth headed by Great Britain and of the Association of Cultural and Technical Cooperation which

operates under the aegis of France. It has been a member of the United Nations since 15 September 1981.

There is a multitude of unsolved problems facing the young state. From the recent colonial past the republic inherited a backward economy in which foreign capital occupies the strong positions. Its main sector is agriculture, where 80 percent of the active population is engaged. Taro, sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, the coffee tree, the cacao tree, and the breadfruit tree are cultivated, but the main crop is the coconut palm whose products are used within the country and exported abroad. About half the most fertile land is the property of foreigners -- private individuals and companies who are engaged in producing coconut palm products, coffee, and cocoa beans. Local inhabitants and workers from other Pacific Ocean islands who come there on contract work on the plantations belonging to foreign capital. Capitalist relations in the agrarian sector coexist with the semisubsistence peasant farm.

Of the domestic animals they raise cattle, pigs, goats, and sheep. Poultry has also been developed to a certain extent. Most of the local fishermen are engaged in coastal fishing; however, there are also trawlers in the country.

Industry, represented by the mining, timber, and food sectors, is weakly developed. The only mining industry sector is the extraction of manganese ore that has been carried on since 1961 in the Forari region on the island of Efate.

Among the goods exported by Vanuatu are copra, coconut oil, cacao beans, coffee, refrigerated and canned meat, frozen fish, commercial timber, and manganese ore. The republic's main trade partners are Australia, France, Great Britain, Japan, New Zealand, and the United States.

The specific features of economic life have also affected the settlement pattern of the islanders. About 80 percent of the republic's citizens live in villages -- an average of 200 people in each. As for the cities, there are only two of them on the islands. The capital, which is located on Efate and has about 18,000 residents, has two names: an English one -- Vila and a French one -- Port-Vila. The city is located on the shore of the very beautiful Mele Bay. Thanks to exclusive tax benefits which private foreign capital enjoys in the republic, Vila has become a unique business center: about 1,000 foreign companies and 75 banks are registered here. Budget revenue from their activities has approximately the same importance to Vanuatu's economy as foreign tourism. The other city -- Luganville, or Santo -- has fewer residents than Vila, but it is located on the country's largest island -- Espiritu Santo.

The ruling "Vanuaaku" Party is trying to fundamentally reorganize the administrative apparatus, return the land seized by the colonizers to the natives, develop cooperation in the countryside, and create a state sector in industry. In March 1982 the first five-year plan of economic development of the country in 1982-1986 was adopted. This document, which reflects the government's decision to transform the national economy in the next 10-15 years envisions an upsurge in such sectors of the economy as

agriculture, the manufacturing and mining industries, and foreign tourism. Foreign capital is being recruited -- both in the form of direct investments and in the form of loans and subsidies -- in order to increase the rate of development.

The republic of Vanuatu is actively participating in the political life of our planet and fights for normalization of the international situation. Vanuatu became the first and at present only state in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean to establish diplomatic relations with Cuba, which in itself was an open challenge to imperialism.

The country's government favors offering independence to all colonial territories in the Pacific Ocean basin, developing regional cooperation, and creating a nuclear-free zone in Oceania and is against nuclear tests in this region. It has prohibited American military ships with nuclear weapons on board from calling at the republic's port. Representatives of Vanuatu are taking part in regional conferences and at meetings of the South Pacific Forum which includes 12 other states in addition to Vanuatu. This organization opposes France's conducting nuclear weapons tests on Pacific Ocean islands and Japan and the United States' using the ocean depths for burying radioactive waste. A resolution in favor of declaring the southern part of the Pacific Ocean a nuclear-free zone and forever prohibiting the production, deployment, and testing of nuclear weapons on the territories of the Forum's member-states was unanimously adopted at its 16th session in August 1985.

Following its progressive domestic and foreign policy line, the Vanuatu government is encountering the fierce opposition of internal reaction supported from abroad. The struggle of the right-wing, pro-Western forces against the cabinet of Walter Lini, the chairman of the Vanuaaku Party, sharply intensified after diplomatic relations were established between Vanuatu and Cuba. The Americans, who during the 1983 election campaign gave generous financial support to the "Alliance of Moderate Parties" (an alliance of opponents to the regime and persons who left the "Vanuaaku" Party) by this opposition's own acknowledgement, are also sparing no efforts to destabilize the country. Nonetheless, in the 2 November 1983 elections, the working people once again demonstrated their faith in the course being followed by the ruling party and thereby thwarted the plans of reaction to remove the progressive forces from power.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

NEW BOOK ON MODERN LIFE, TRADITIONS OF VIETNAM REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 85 p 62

[Review by P. Tsvetov, candidate of historical sciences, of book "Bambukovaya krepost" [Bamboo Fortress] by A.I. Mineyev, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literaturny izdatelstva "Nauka", Moscow, 1984, number of copies not given, 208 pages]

[Text] Vietnam has received its fair share of attention from journalists. Essays, comments, and reportage on this country have often appeared in the Soviet press, both in the years of the struggle against the aggressors and in peaceful days. Every year several books on Vietnam also come out. All this is easy to explain. Vietnam won a solid place in the hearts of the Soviet people with its determination and courage in the struggle for its radiant ideals. A full-fledged member of the socialist community, this country in addition has many interesting characteristics which attract and arouse the attention of sociopolitical writers.

A new book was recently added to the library of Soviet works on Vietnam. Its author, TASS correspondent A. Mineyev, is well known in our country, including to the readers of the journal AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA. In the foreword of the book he defined the goal of his work as an attempt "to draw a picture of today's Vietnamese countryside, the old in the new, and the countryside in the city" (p 4). It can certainly be said that not only was this goal achieved -- more was accomplished. Through vivid, truthful sketches the author enables the reader to understand and even feel what Vietnamese civilization is like. Of course, A. Mineyev does not attempt to answer all questions which a newcomer to Vietnam encounters, but upon reading the book this country which is far away to a Soviet person in many respects becomes closer.

The book deals with the problems which actually exist in contemporary Vietnamese life -- social, economic, ideological, and domestic. The fresh look, the way these problems are elucidated, also distinguishes the book from the abundance of works on Vietnam. Unlike other journalistic works, "Bambukovaya krepost" does not limit itself to sweet descriptions of girls in conical hats or boys reading sitting on the back of a buffalo. Nor does it go to the other extreme -- a dry rewording of articles from Vietnamese newspapers on economic development.

The unfettered narrative manner is combined with a serious, thoughtful attitude toward everything which the author discusses. For example, in describing old Hanoi streets, the journalist raises a whole set of real socioeconomic problems stemming from the predominance of small production, and in describing in detail the life of one agricultural cooperative, he gives a description of a new system of labor organization and payment -- the contract system. The book also successfully deals with such a traditional topic for Soviet correspondents as cooperation between our countries -- large-scale forms of our common affairs are shown through the people's fates. All the phenomena of Vietnamese civilization appear in the light of the important and complex problem of combining tradition and modernity in Eastern society. This is accomplished with adequate scientific professionalism, which also makes this book very useful for students of Eastern studies.

"Bambukovaya krepost" by A. Mineyev is the result of more than a decade of work in the field of Vietnamese studies. It reflects the author's excellent Orientalist training and his solid journalistic experience. The book is undoubtedly also useful because it is a real contribution to the cause of deepening mutual understanding between the Soviet and Vietnamese peoples and strengthening friendship between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

BOOK ON ISLAM'S ROLE IN REGIONAL, INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 85 pp 62-63

[Review by A. Ionova, doctor of historical sciences, of book "Islam a muslimske zeme" [Islam and the Muslim Countries] by J. Kovar, publisher not given, Prague, 1984, number of copies not given, 370 pages]

[Text] A new and interesting study has been added to Czech Eastern studies -- the monograph "Islam and the Muslim Countries" by J. Kovar. The author focuses attention on two problems: first, the role of different Islamic groupings in the ideological and sociopolitical life of the countries of the East; and second, Islam's place in the international and regional politics of these countries.

The analysis of these problems is carried out against a broad historical backdrop. The reader gets an idea of how the Muslim faith originated, what the specific features of its dogma and cult are, and how the main schools of Islam -- Sunni and Shi'a -- were formed. It is also mentioned that various social forces pursuing different political goals have appeared under the banner of this religion.

When capitalism began to arise in the East, the ranks of Muslims split up into adherents of the religious-traditional legacy and supporters of its modernization. But as more time passed, more differences were uncovered among the reformists themselves and above all, among those who began from a bourgeois or petty bourgeois understanding of the challenges of social progress.

According to J. Kovar's conclusion, reformist activities were from the start limited by the traditional-minded masses of believers. In addition, in the eyes of most of the Muslims, capitalism was inseparable from colonial and imperialist exploitation. All this left its mark on the development of a number of Islamic ideological readings. Among them were the theories of "Muslim socialism," which nonetheless reflected the interests of various social forces and above all certain feudal, petty bourgeois, and bourgeois groupings. J. Kovar notes that the Marxist-Leninist description of single-class views of the adherents of nonscientific socialism is fully applicable to the analysis of the essence of these theories. However, "representatives of revolutionary-democratic regimes use religious terms and argumentation to

facilitate mass acceptance of their programs of fundamental socioeconomic transformations" (p 43).

Exposing the unsound nature of the claims of many Muslim theoreticians that there is a special path of development fundamentally distinct from capitalist or socialist development, J. Kovar brings attention to the circumstance that even when the ideologists sincerely share the anticapitalist sentiments of the working people, their contribution to the struggle against bourgeois ways is usually restricted to criticism of the evils and vices of capitalism. In addition, religious narrow-mindedness frequently manifests itself not only in rejection of the theory and practice of real socialism but in the use of methods of both local and foreign anticommunist propaganda.

J. Kovar explains the activization of the Muslim movement in a number of liberated countries in the last decade by several factors. Above all, it is a defensive reaction of religious people to secular trends. Then it is a rejection of secularism as well and of the course to modernize society by Muslims living in the world of traditional structures who are still loyal to medieval Islamic ideals. In addition, the structural-crisis phenomena in the political, socioeconomic, and cultural life of the countries which formerly followed the strategy of development by "Western models" without the necessary consideration of local specifics and without proper utilization of internal resources and reserves promoted the "return to the fundamental values of Islam."

The analysis J. Kovar gives of the situation in specific countries using the examples of Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Iran, Bangladesh, Egypt, Turkey, Indonesia, Malaysia, Algeria, the People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen, and others persuasively confirms his observation on the important differences in the ideological-political positions of the representatives of various class forces in contemporary Muslim society. He comes to a similar conclusion in examining the basis directions of the activities of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. The solution of many urgent problems of contemporary times, among them those which are related to the destinies of the developing countries of traditional Islam distribution, emphasizes J. Kovar, depends, in addition to other circumstances, on how effectively imperialism and neocolonialism are rebuffed.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

ANALYSIS ON U.S. 'QUIET ANNEXATION' OF MICRONESIA

LD121430 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 12 Jan 86

["Trampled Right to Independence" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 12 (TASS) -- TASS news analyst Vasiliy Kharkov writes:

The United States has completed the "quiet annexation" of Micronesia by signing an agreement on "free association" with Belau (Palau). In this way the latter has become the fourth and last former trust territory to go under Washington's direct control. Yet earlier the U.S. Congress approved similar agreements with two other territories, the Marshall Islands and the Federal States of Micronesia, while the northern Marianas had a dependent status imposed on them by Washington almost 10 years ago.

More than 2,000 small Pacific islands and atolls, most of them uninhabited, are scattered in a semi-arc between the Philippines and Hawaii and grouped into three Micronesian archipelagoes. Receiving from the Security Council in 1947 the mandate to govern those archipelagoes, the United States as a trustee pledged strictly to respect the U.N. Charter, to guide itself by the interests of the local population, to contribute to political and social progress and to help advance the islands towards self-government and independence.

But the United States grossly violated all those commitments and used its mandate to turn trust territories into its military staging area. Washington views Micronesia primarily in terms of military-strategic interests because, as a senior Pentagon official has stated, Micronesia makes it possible to have virtually any point in the Pacific within reach.

The world at large knows about the tragic fate of atolls Bikini and Einwetok, at which the United States conducted a series of tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Trying to cover its tracks, the Pentagon attempted to decontaminate the local animal and plant life from deadly radio-active fallout but the task proved insuperable. Atoll Kwajalein has become a major testing site for ICBM's. At present it has been sidelined for testing

components of space strike weapons.

The economy of the Micronesian archipelagoes, backward as it was, has further deteriorated under American rule. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL says that the islands are unable either to feed or to sustain in other ways their population. The situation was further aggravated by the requisition of land for military facilities, which did irreparable damage to agriculture.

The absorption of Micronesia by the United States, which made the Pacific archipelagoes its military-strategic staging areas, is a graphic example of neo-colonialism. Washington's actions are at odds with the well-known principles of decolonization, formulated in the U.N. declaration on granting independence to the colonial countries and peoples.

/12640

CS0: 1812/074

WESTERN EUROPE

FINLAND-SOVIET UNION SOCIETY DELEGATION IN BAKU

[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 15 November 1985 carries on page 5 a 200-word Azerinform report on the arrival of a Finnish delegation in Baku to plan for the forthcoming "Soviet Union Days with the AzSSR as an Example" which is to be held in Finland. The delegation from the Finland-Soviet Union Society was headed by Matti Lind and Kaleva Lehtinen. "A protocol was signed on the preparation and holding of the days at the Azerbaijan Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries." It is added that "The guests from Finland were received at the Foreign Relations Department of the AzCP CC".

CSD: 1831/412

EASTERN EUROPE

CSSR, GDR PLAN COORDINATION: 1986-1990

Plan Coordination with CSSR

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 45, Nov 85 p 20

[Article by TASS: "USSR-CSSR: Coordination of Plans"]

[Text] The planning organs of the USSR and CSSR have completed their negotiations on the coordination of plans for the years 1986-1990. The Protocol reflecting the results of the work performed was signed on 29 October in Moscow by CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Chairman of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] N. V. Talyzin, and Deputy Chairman of the CSSR Government and CSSR Gosplan Chairman S. Potach.

In accordance with the decisions of the high level Economic Conference of the CEMA Member States, a wide range of questions associated with the economic policy being implemented in the Soviet Union and in Czechoslovakia was discussed in the course of the plan coordination. The strategic directions of cooperation were filled with specific content. This cooperation at the current stage is called upon to facilitate the resolution of first priority problems in the socio-economic development of both countries, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the intensification of social production and increase in its effectiveness, and the economy of material resources.

The contract agreements on basic questions of Soviet-Czechoslovak economic relations reached during the meetings of CPSU Central Committee Secretary General M. S. Gorbachev and CPC Central Committee Secretary General and CSSR President G. Gusak, and during the talks between the heads of state of the USSR and CSSR were specified in detail at the consultations which were held. The practical implementation of many of the directives in the program for long-term economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the USSR and the CSSR for the period to the year 2000 was begun.

The basic directions for Soviet-Czechoslovak economic cooperation for the next five-year plan were coordinated, and in some sectors for a longer period. The volumes of mutual deliveries of machines, equipment, fuel-raw material goods, chemical production and consumer goods were defined. Effective measures were outlined for increasing the technical level and quality of mutually delivered

products and the diversification of their assortment. The planned volume of commodity exchange between the USSR and the CSSR in the years 1986-1990 will increase by one-third as compared with the current five-year plan, and will reach almost 73 billion rubles.

Coordinated proposals have been developed for the implementation of a number of important measures in the sphere of material production and capital construction through joint efforts, as well as on intensifying mutually beneficial division of labor on the basis of specialization and cooperation in the basic sectors of production.

Ascribing great importance to mutual action in solving the problems of accelerating scientific-technical progress, the managers of planning organs of both countries acknowledged the necessity of ensuring closer coordination in scientific-technical and economic cooperation, in accelerating the introduction of the results of scientific-research and project design developments into production, and on this basis in expanding mutual product deliveries, primarily those of machines and equipment of a high technical level, as well as chemical goods.

The basis for the development of Soviet-Czechoslovak economic cooperation will continue to be the intensification of integration in the sphere of machine building, the further expansion in specialization and cooperation of production, and the establishment of direct ties between industrial enterprises and scientific-technical organizations.

On the basis of division of labor, Czechoslovakia will produce the following goods for delivery to the USSR: main-line electric passenger trains, street-cars and trolleys characterized by high indicators of economy and reliability, river-going vessels, modern metal processing machine tools, technological equipment for the metallurgical, petroleum processing and chemical industries, "Tatra" all-terrain automobiles, and "Avia" trucks.

Also, the CSSR will participate by means of deliveries of their machines and equipment in the realization of priority national economic programs in the Soviet Union--the Energy and Food Programs--as well as in the reconstruction of enterprises in the light and food industry and in consumer services to the public.

The Soviet Union will continue its deliveries to Czechoslovakia of mining equipment, construction-road building technology, heavy duty tractors and agricultural machines, passenger automobiles, aviation technology, and products in the electronics industry.

The volume of technical assistance given to Czechoslovakia in the development of large industrial and other facilities will increase by means of delivery of complement equipment for the development of energetics. This will include equipment for atomic power stations, for the reconstruction of the metallurgical and chemical industries, and for the construction of a metropolis in Prague.

Mutual cooperation in the chemical, petrochemical and pharmaceutical industries will expand significantly in the next five-year plan. An agreement has been reached on continuing existing and preparing new accords on the specialization and cooperation of production and on the mutual deliveries of certain products in petrochemistry, mineral fertilizers, chemical means of plant protection, and medical preparations.

For purposes of more fully satisfying the needs of both countries for certain chemical products, the planning organs of the USSR and the CSSR will continue the coordination of capital investments in the development of new chemical production after the year 1990.

To ensure the needs of both countries in fuel-energy resources, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia will cooperate in the development of the Yamburgskiy Gas Deposit, in the construction of the main gas line from Yamburg to the western border of the USSR, of the Urals Gas Complex, the Krivorog Ore Enriching Combine, and other facilities. The operational introduction of these facilities will make it possible starting in 1989 to additionally increase the supply of natural gas to the CSSR and will facilitate satisfaction of its needs for iron-bearing raw materials.

Much attention in the course of plan coordination was given to expanding cooperation in the sectors producing consumer goods. In the next five-year plan, the deliveries of furniture upholstery fabrics, clothing, tricot and other textile products from the CSSR to the USSR will increase significantly. The overall volume of deliveries will have an ever increasing portion of products of a modern and high quality assortment.

The Soviet Union will continue deliveries of electrical appliances and other goods for long-term use to Czechoslovakia, where they are in great demand.

Having acknowledged the necessity of giving work on the coordination of state plans for economic and social development a continuous character, the leaders of the USSR and CSSR central planning organs agreed to continue the development of questions associated with intensifying economic and scientific-technical cooperation in the prospective period, particularly in the spheres of machine building and the chemical industry. At the same time, control over the implementation of the agreed upon measures will be intensified.

All the work on coordination of USSR and CSSR plans took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and complete mutual understanding.

Plan Coordination with GDR

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 45, Nov 85 p 20

[TASS article: "USSR-GDR: Prospects for Cooperation"]

[Text] On 31 October a protocol was signed in Moscow on the results of coordination of USSR and GDR state plans for the years 1986-1990 and for a longer period.

The protocol was signed by CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR Gosplan Chairman N. V. Talyzin and SUPG [Socialist Unified Party of Germany] Central Committee Politburo candidate member, Deputy Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission G. Schurer.

Stemming from the general agreement between CPSU Central Committee Secretary General M. S. Gorbachev and SUPG Central Committee Secretary General E. Honecker on questions of the further development of multilateral cooperation between the USSR and the GDR, the protocol provided specific measures for intensifying the division of labor, specialization and cooperation of production in the basic sectors of the national economies of both countries for the purpose of intensifying social production and ensuring a stable and dynamic growth for mutual commodity exchange.

In accordance with the decisions of the high level Economic Conference of the CEMA Member States and the program for development of cooperation between the USSR and the GDR in the sphere of science, technology and production to the year 2000, the parties agreed to implement joint measures directed at accelerating scientific-technical progress, widespread application of the latest achievements in science and technology in production, increasing the technical level and quality of manufactured and mutually delivered production, and renewal of its assortment.

Cooperation will be developed at a rapid rate in the development and production of products in microelectronics, robots, machine tools with numerical control, flexible production systems, processing centers and computer and information technology which will ensure high rates of growth of labor productivity, comprehensive mechanization and automation of production, and economy of energy, raw goods and materials.

For purposes of solving the socio-economic problems presented, the parties agreed to utilize in every way the capacities of cooperation, including also in the sphere of production of foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods, to utilize the created scientific-technical potential and experience, as well as to implement measures for the development, modernization and reconstruction of the material-technical base for the agro-industrial complex, light industry and the food industry.

The commodity exchange agreed upon for the forthcoming five-year plan will exceed 82 billion rubles and will increase by almost 30 percent as compared with the current five-year plan.

In the forthcoming five-year plan, the Soviet Union will deliver to the GDR equipment for atomic power stations, automobiles, tractors, aviation technology, products in the electronics industry, as well as significant volumes of oil, natural gas, rock coal, electrical energy, products in ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the chemical industry, lumber materials, cotton and other goods.

In turn, the GDR will significantly increase its deliveries to the USSR of machine tools, boxcars, ships, means of computer technology, and equipment.

for the metallurgical, coal, oil, gas, chemical and light and food industries. The deliveries of consumer goods will increase by almost one-and-a-half times, including those of carpets, sewn and knitted products, furniture, porcelain dishware, and fabrics.

The parties defined a number of industrial facilities whose construction or reconstruction is being planned for the period of 1986-1990 through cooperation between the USSR and the GDR. To ensure deliveries of iron ore and natural gas from the USSR, the GDR will participate together with the other CEMA member states in the construction of the Krivorog Ore Enriching Combine and the main gas pipeline from Yamburg to the western border of the USSR. The Soviet Union will give aid to the GDR in the construction of the "2000" rolling mill at the Ost Metallurgical Combine.

The parties discussed the basic directions for division of labor between the USSR and GDR beyond the limits of the year 1990 and coordinated the perspective problems on which work will be continued.

12322

CSO: 1825/23

EASTERN EUROPE

GDR SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC INDICATORS VIEWED

PM091237 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 January 1986 First Edition publishes on page 4 under the rubric "Community: People, Experience, Problems" a 2,600-word article with a Berlin-Moscow dateline by special correspondents D. Valovoy and Yu. Kazmin, entitled "System of Indicators." The article deals with GDR experience in "improving production relations and the exchange of progressive experience of planning and management with the CEMA countries." After noting the importance of the creation of combines in industry, construction, and transport as a fundamental change in the structure of management, the article goes on to note the different priorities given to various economic indicators in recent decades and then points out that "in 1983 it was decided to make changes to the system of indicators for assessing the work of combines and enterprises" and to base it on these four indicators: "net output; production of goods and services for the population; fulfillment of export targets (in foreign currency); and net profits." The article emphasizes that "the present system of indicators is distinguished by their intercoordination and meshing and by the elimination of 'gaps' between them." The new indicators reportedly "help to strengthen labor and production discipline. The policy of economy and thrift, and the obligation to fulfill plans and contracts, instill order in all links of the production chain, improve the quality of products, and enhance their consumer properties."

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CSO: 1825/38

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

USSR-SRV: DEVELOPMENT OF SEA TRADE

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 42, Oct 85 p 20

[Article by Yu. Volmer, chief of the Far Eastern Steamship Line: "USSR-SRV: A Maritime 'Bridge of Friendship'"]

[Text] Year after year, the cargo flow between the Soviet Union and Vietnam increases, reflecting the rapidly developing integrational ties between our countries. Among the goods exported from the USSR to the SRV are machines and equipment vitally important for people's Vietnam, liquid fuel, mineral fertilizers, and general consumer goods. The largest volume of goods coming to our country from Vietnam are vegetables, fruits and berries of tropical and subtropical origin. Also, the Soviet Union imports raw rubber, wood of tropical varieties, knitted wear and other goods from the SRV.

Naturally, a significant portion of the mutually supplied goods pass through the ports of the Soviet Far East. The steamships of the Far Eastern Line complete over 300 runs a year to the shores of fraternal Vietnam. In the current five-year plan, the intensity of application of these vessels has increased significantly and their idle time has been reduced by one-third.

One of the primary factors in the continued increase in the effectiveness of fleet operation along the Vietnam line has become the international socialist competition of the labor collectives of the USSR and the SRV. The first agreement on competition was signed 8 years ago between the crew of the steamship "Klara Tsetkin" and the collective of the southern section of the Vietnamese state company for fruit exports "Vezhetesko", located in Ho Chi Minh City. It provided for specific measures directed at increasing labor productivity and work quality.

The results proved to be effective. Docking times in the port of Saigon were reduced by 5-10 days, cargo packaging was improved, and cargo security increased. Because of the economy of docking time, we were able to complete several additional runs and to transport thousands of tons of cargo over the plan assignment.

Today the crews of all refrigeration and dry cargo vessels performing regular runs to Vietnam are participating in an international socialist competition. It has become intensified and enriched with a new content, and has become

integrated. On the part of Vietnam, not only the southern and northern sections of "Vezheteski" are participating in this competition, but also the collectives and ports of Haiphong, Qui Nahn, Saigon, DaNang, Quong To and Bentui. Motor transport operators and workers at processing plants in Vietnam are interacting with the crews of seamen and brigades of dock workers. The railroad workers of the Far Eastern Railroad have also included themselves in the competition.

The primary goal of the work cooperation by participants in the international competition is to accelerate deliveries of export-import cargo, reduce the service times of ships in ports, and exchange leading experience. All this facilitates an increase in the effectiveness of operation of marine transport and of our countries' ports. The coordination of work by contiguous types of transport for transporting cargo has improved in the current five-year plan. The presence of cargo being stored at the same time has been reduced to one-half the previous amount on the docks of Haiphong Harbor. This has liberated production areas, which in turn has made it possible to improve the quality and technology of cargo handling operations in the port.

The integrated international socialist competition has helped many crews achieve good production indicators. For a number of years, the initiator of the international competition, the steamship "Klara Tsetkin" has been among the victors. In the past year-and-a-half alone, it has made 12 round trips to Vietnam, providing additional profits in the sum of 16,900 rubles. Twelve members of the crew have been awarded the title of "Honorary Citizen of Ho Chi Minh City."

The Vietnamese dock workers of Haiphong, Saigon and Da Nang are well acquainted with the crew of the Soviet steamship "Polina Osipenko." Working together with the Soviet seamen, they quickly service the vessel, showing a high labor productivity in their cargo handling operations. In the first half of 1985 alone, the steamship made four trips to Vietnam. A total of 90 hours of docking time, 22 hours of running time and 28 tons of fuel were saved. The profit exceeded 270,000 rubles, with a planned amount of 175,000 rubles.

A strong friendship with the dock workers of the fraternal country was formed also by the crew of the steamship "Marina Raskova." Captain A. M. Skobtsov knows how to motivate the brigades, which include both Soviet seamen and Vietnamese dock workers, to shock labor. For example, all the runs this year were performed successfully, without spoilage. The Vietnamese dock workers helped to save around 100 hours on cargo handling operations in the ports. The vegetable and fruit processors of the Vezhetesko Company ensured the timely delivery of products for shipment. The achievements of the international brigades are effectively publicized over the ship's radio, in wall newspapers, and at production conferences.

Thanks to the well thought-out organization of labor competition, the crews of the steamships "Ilya Mechnikov," "Professor Popov," and "Yasnomorsk" are successfully working in the transport of export-import cargo. The Deputy Chief of the Main Administration on Shipping Routes of the SRV Ministry of Transport and Communications Pham Thuet Quat presented an Honorary Certificate to the steamship "Ani Barbyus." We may also cite other examples of the effectiveness of international socialist competition. We must say that the entire

profitable group of vessels operating along the Vietnam line has fulfilled the plan for four-and-a-half years of the five-year plan ahead of schedule. The volume of delivered cargo has increased by a factor of 1.5.

Vietnamese dock workers are widely utilizing leading experience in the organization of labor for cargo handling operations. This has made it possible to maintain the schedule for ship movements and to bring about order in the interaction of the transport conveyor "SRV ports--ships of the Far Eastern Maritime Steamship Line--Port of Vladivostok--Far Eastern Railroad."

In the course of the international socialist competition, work on the coordination of contiguous types of transport for shipping cargo out of the ports of Vietnam has improved. The port of Haiphong has equipped a specialized dock No 11 for processing perishable cargo. Alongside it are refrigeration facilities, and the direct supply of the vegetables and fruits to the piers is ensured.

The summary of results and presentation of awards takes place in solemn circumstances--at general meetings of Soviet seamen and Vietnamese dock workers. For example, at one of these joint meetings in Da Nang there were over 300 people. The Chairman of the People's Committee of the province, comrade Hoang Minh Thang presented the Port of Da Nang with the Order of Labor III Degree, and honorable mention certificates to the Soviet seamen "for their active participation in the international competition." The crew of the steamship "Polina Osipenko" was honored at the well-attended meeting in the port of Haiphong, and was also presented with an Honorary Certificate. Pennants of the Far Eastern Steamship Line were presented to brigades of dock workers headed by Vu Van Thuan and Buy Tho Hien.

Some shortcomings in the work have also become apparent in the process of joint labor of the far eastern seamen and the SRV port workers. The partners frankly discussed these shortcomings. Thus, the Vietnamese comrades pointed out the fact that the vessels of the steamship line do not always come in on time, and sometimes the mutually agreed upon schedule of steamship approach is disrupted. We made practical conclusions which made it possible to ensure better rhythm in the movement of the vessels.

The port workers of Vietnam also have their difficulties. Specifically, the processing of containers is still slow at the docks of their ports. A significant factor in increasing the effectiveness of cargo handling operations will be measures directed at the more rational application of capacities at the ports of call of Soviet vessels.

The participants in the international competition show constant concern for the application of reserves. Thus, concerned for the safekeeping of agricultural products, they decided to introduce a new point into the agreement--that of processing cargo without commercial defect. Their actions were dictated by an understanding of the fact that as yet cargo handling areas do not have enough refrigeration storage facilities for storing steamship loads of vegetables. The realization of the new responsibility will facilitate the rapid and quality delivery of the crop of Vietnamese vegetables and fruits to the Soviet consumers.

These days, when international competition is being expanded in the countries of the socialist alliance in honor of the upcoming congresses of the fraternal

parties, the labor collectives of the Soviet Far Eastern Steamship Line and the port workers of Vietnam are assuming increased socialist responsibilities. Their precise fulfillment and overfulfillment will serve the cause of further strengthening the unbreakable bonds of brotherhood and cooperation between our countries and the growth of their economies.

12322

CSO: 1825/23

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

TWO DIFFERENT ANGLES OF AFGHAN WAR REPORTED

Dushmans' 'Moral Decay'

PM271223 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Dec 85 Second Edition p 4

[Special correspondent V. Filatov reportage under the rubric "From the Afghan Notebook": "Killing off Their Own People; Such Is Morality in the Camp of the Dushman Rabble"]

[Text] It happened in Paktia Province. Our artillery men were providing fire support for the operations of an Afghan Army infantry battalion. Half a kilometer away, there rose a natural elevation resembling a round fortress tower. It was of no significance for our artillery men. Their observation post was much further forward. They fired from concealed positions. Their targets were 7-8 kilometers away, across two mountain ridges.

Suddenly, at about 16.00 hours, two old Afghans came up to the emplacement. Political workers, officer M. Bondarenko, went out to meet them. The visitors introduced themselves--(Ali Mamad) and (Guljam Kharsrat), village elders from the village there, on the extreme left. Briefly they explained to Bondarenko why they had come. Not long ago, 200 families had returned to the surrounding villages from Pakistan, and it seemed that what they had been warned about in Pakistan was actually happening. They were told that the Russians, with their guns and machine guns would annihilate in Afghanistan.

"Your guns are firing at our village, 10 people have already been killed, and 18 have been wounded...."

Bondarenko gave instructions to issue the elders with a pair of binoculars each and led them up the hill. From the top they could see clearly the panorama of the villages spreading out before them. Suddenly they heard a noise like silver foil rustling in the wind above their heads. And within seconds fires flared up within the village mudwalls. Bondarenko gestured to them--look through the binoculars at your houses, then look without the binoculars at our guns, they are silent. The elders looked. Then they laid the binoculars at Bondarenko's feet, raised their hands to their ears and starting wailing: "The dushman fiends, may burn in the hot fires of hell, for Allah is terrible in meting out punishment...."

We asked the Afghan artillery gun layer in the mountains for the coordinates. Our artillery men put out the dushman firing position with the first salvo.

So much for the believers and their fellow believers. What an ignoble way to kill their own people. This is probably worse than what the fascists did when going into attack, they drove old men, women, and children before them. Do you understand their wicked scheme? Bondarenko asks me, looking at the bent backs of the elders returning to their destroyed village, and he replies himself. Here is the Soviet artillery emplacement and over there in the village shells are exploding. Who is doing the shooting and killing? They. The Russians, of course. But Gille for revenge, take up arms, shoot the infidels....

Medical personnel and medicines were dispatched to the village posthaste. Thirty minutes later our helicopters arrived and evacuated the casualties.

"A dushman stops at nothing?" Major (Gulistan), chief of the political section of the Afghan territorial forces, told me.

Our conversation took place in his office. The major is a Pashtun from Paktika Province.

"Before, gangs were made up of, well, mature people, people. Whereas now," the major continues, "it is mainly young boys under 17. They are no less brutal. The gang leaders excel in methods of corrupting young souls."

...These three were spotted on a desert road. Somehow they aroused strong suspicion. Our comrades in the Sarandoy (militia) tried to intercept them, but they only succeeded in detaining one of them. (Sakhidat Aadia Makhammed), aged about 50. He had three letters on him. When he was detained, he did not deny anything but told the whole story himself without keeping anything back. He was on his way from Pakistan.

However, to tell the whole story, we must start at the beginning. Peasant (Sakhidat Aadia Makhammed) lived in Sorkh district's Sorkh village with his wife and eight children. The village is in the mountains. (Saronval) and his gang held sway there. No one wanted to join the gang. To ensure that his elder son would not be seized, (Sakhidat) paid (Saronval) off, he gave him 20,000 Afghani. (Saronval) took the money, but shortly afterwards, rushed in with his cutthroats and abducted the son. Sometime later, (Saronval) came to (Sakhidat's) door.

"We have killed your son like a dog," (Saronval) said. He was a mid mujahid. A stinking Dikhal begets stinking jackals. You too must die..."

(Sakhidat) begged for mercy, saying that he was an old man and could not harm anybody. His children were running out. And the impossible happened. The merciless (Saronval) switched from anger to mercy, but he ordered (Sakhidat) to get ready for a journey:

"You will go to Pakistan with a letter to my brother."

And so the peasant ended up in Pakistan.

The sarandov read all three letters. The third letter had a laconic postscript: "Kill the bearer of this letter after he has delivered it."

He cried when they told him. "I will pay them back for my son and myself. Revenge...I will show you all the bandits' depots and stopping places...."

According to the Koran, a Muslim must start any venture, any step he takes, by pronouncing the formula "In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful." In Islam there exists the idea of Jidad, that is war for the faith, prescribed by the Koran. But what kind of war and for what kind of faith? And anyhow, who apart from the dushmans themselves is slaughtering mullahs and destroying mosques? And even the idea of Jihad allows for so-called spiritual Jihad, and there is also the concept of the four types of Jihad--that of the sword, that of the heart, that of the tongue, and that of the hand. However, the dushmans in Afghanistan practice only one kind of Jihad, Jihad of the Sword, and that even against their fellow believers. They have long since degenerated into ordinary bandits, and their way of thinking is not Islamic either, but that of ordinary bandits.

In (Kharshotal) District (Nasir Bah's) came under attack. Three bodies were found where the fighting had taken place. On careful inspection it was found that one of the bandits was still breathing. It was a dushman by the name of (Valikhan). Later they asked him: Where are the others? Which way did they go? He did not know. He said that the two of his associates that were lying next to him had been wounded in the leg, but were finished off by their own people. One had a knife sticking out of the side of his neck. As for (Valikhan), they decided to shoot him. The bullet did not kill him. All three were stripped naked.

And this is what happened in Orgun District: A gang had sustained losses and there was no other way out but to surrender. In this situation, the ringleader and those around him finished off all the wounded so that they could not betray them, so that they would not tell who was who and how much innocent blood there was on their hands. Having dealt with the rank-and-file wounded, the ringleaders surrendered. They pretended to be poor peasants. But it did not work. In the end they were fully exposed...How did it become known that they had killed off the wounded? All the deadly wounds were inflicted by 7.6mm bullets from a Chinese rifle. The Afghan servicemen have no such weapons. They had all been shot in the face. Incidentally, the wound which these bullets inflict is characteristic....

I visited signalmen in the same Paktia Province where our artillery men were deployed. While I was there, they intercepted an uncoded radio message on the 44,750 frequency. Sergeant Olim Yuldashev translated it for me. He himself comes from Leninabad Oblast. He was drafted into the army from the second year of the polytechnical institute. Somewhere nearby dushman radio operators were transmitting under the code names ("Zargun"), ("Marez"), ("Mubari"), ("Borun"), and ("Zumakhav"). In an uncoded message ("Shukhi") was calling ("Shadab"). Here is his reply. "Here is ('Shadab'). Here

brother, I have five wounded. I cannot get to them. We are surrounded. It is the will of Allah that the wounded receive their death from their fellow believers." ("Shakhin") radioed back. "I have understood. I am dispatching group number four. Hurry. Take the submachine guns. Over." In other words, the senior man gave permission to shoot the wounded and take their submachine guns. There is a subtle point here: According to dushman estimates a submachine gun costs more than \$7,000 in our money in Pakistan. The dushman was transmitting an uncoded message because he was in a panic, he was transmitting as soon as the shelling of the mountain where he was located had stopped, he was making adjustments.

The next day a dushman arms, ammunition, and equipment dump was captured. Documents including correspondence were seized. Here is one of the letters: To the Islamic Alliance of the Mujahidin of Afghanistan (this is the pompous title of one of the dushman parties). Esteemed Head of the Islamic Alliance of the Mujahidin of Afghanistan. Greetings and best wishes. Honored Sir, 18 months have passed but we have still not received the funds and means allocated to my group ..Signed: "Teacher Muhammad Qadir."

What can you say to that? Only one thing--one thief is robbing another. Or as the Afghan saying goes: "There is nothing new about one thief robbing another."

On my return to Kabul from Paktia Province I heard that a 15-year old... dushman had been admitted to the Soviet military hospital, having been wounded in the leg and hip. They told me that the youngster was bleeding to death and every second was precious. I arrived at the hospital, but the youth was no longer there. He had had his operation which had been successful and was transferred to one of Kabul's hospitals. I set off for the hospital. There I found (Nik Mokhammad), the youth from a dushman gang. Bandaged up to his waist, he was already smiling and more than willing to talk....

He came from Kabul. He had gone to visit his aunt near Gardevz. He had been there a couple of days when one night people came, woke him up, looked him over and said: "Will do." The fattest one asked him: "Do you want to earn a lot of money?" No, (Nik) did not, because the following morning he was due to return home to Kabul. The men led him away into the mountains. There he sat around for a day under guard. During the day several more boys like himself arrived. Then camels appeared and the dushmans ordered the boys to load the bales and crates onto the camels.

At night the caravan set off along a dark path. The boys acted as camel drivers. The others consoled them saying that when they arrived at their destination and got unloaded, they would be paid and could go home. However, the dushman caravan carrying weapons was intercepted by Afghan servicemen. Fighting broke out. The dushmans, using dead and live camels as cover, did not allow the boy loaders to get away. A bullet seared (Nik's) leg and hip, he describes how this frightened him to death, he fell on his back and covered his face with an old "longi"--a narrow width of material which is part of the turban. When the dushmans saw that all was lost and they had

to run, they first shot all the boy leaders whom they had abducted from the villages, and then they finished off their wounded. "I saw all this with my own eyes from underneath the 'longi.' They would have killed me too, they came up to me, but they thought I was dead." (Nik) relates.

Later, the Afghan servicemen who took part in the fighting would relate how the wounded were killed by being shot in the face. "So that no one could recognize them and tell where they came from. In that case we might be able to trace them, find their vase. (Nik) was not shot in the face because he came from Kabul. It was to their advantage if (Nik) was recognized, it would make tracing them more difficult." So this is how boys under 16 and 17 get into gangs. They are abducted from their parents, rounded up in fields, and enticed to the mountains with deceit and promises. They are used mainly as slave labor. And when no longer needed, they are simply shot, just like camels no longer fit for work, like people who have seen too much and might tell....

Ask any gang leader who has been taken prisoner what he is fighting for and he will reply without batting an eyelid: "For the faith, for the purity of Islam, for Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful, and so forth and so forth. And what a lot of noise is being made in this connection in the West for the 6th year insurrection! However, here is the account of conversation I had with Comrade (Dostagir), Paktia Province secretary. He was talking about Islam. This is what he said on the subject:

"Life in most of the province's villages follows the traditions of the forebears. Not the Koran, not the Shari'a, not the al-Adha, not even Islam in general. In the whole of our province there are no more than five villages capable of reading the Koran. There are villages in the mountains which live at the subsistence farming level..."

"And what about the Mujahidin, the fighters for the faith?"

"Don't talk to me about that! I told you, in most of the province's villages they know about Islam only by hearsay, they live in what might be described, if you wish, as the pre-Islamic epoch. And all that is said about the defense of Islam has been invented in the West and by the Qashimiq. They have invented it, so they are defending it...what we need now are roads, good corn and wheat seeds, and machinery for the fields. What has that to do with the Korean? What has that to do with Islam?..."

This is one of the facets of the undeclared war which imperialism and the local reaction are waging against the revolutionary people who have decided to live the new life.

Soviets' House, Dnepropetrovsk

PM161434 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 12 Dec 85 p 3

[V. Izgarshev report under the "Afghan Vetcher" rubric: "Soldiers' Islam"]

[Text] Kabul, Moscow-- Five years ago some Afghan families (collected one by the artisan (Khashim) in this village meeting at the time of the revolution

He was about 100 years old. More agates, amethysts, and rubies had passed through his hands than you could count, even roughly. Old (Kashim) made wonderful beads, brooches, and pendants.

On the day that we met an Afghan-Soviet friendship rally was being held on the edge of the village. Many people had gathered but the old artisan had come with just one aim in mind--to sell a few of his wares. Perhaps the Russians would like to buy some to adorn their wives and fiancées. Just look at what fine jewelry this is! Old (Khashim) still has a keen eye and quite strong hands, glory be to Allah.

Listening to the Soviet speakers' words, however, the old man suddenly forgot about his brooches and beads. What people these Russians are! The salt of the earth! They dug the ground beyond the village and found an ancient marble statue. It must have been at least 1,000 years old. And what fine work! The old man pushed his way a little closer to the improvised stage where the statue was placed. Well, he knew the value of marble statues but this find was surely beyond price. But--the old man must have misheard!--the Russian commander was simply handing the statue over for free to the representative of the Ministry of Information and Culture who had come from Kabul for the rally. And there they both were--the Russian and the Afghan--shaking each other by the hand. What else happened? It seemed to me that the old man was actually distressed by all this--the marble statue had been handed over without a tradeoff....

"You must be very kind people," the old man said to me. "Just yesterday the Russians distributed gifts to the Afghans in the village. My neighbor was given a suit. Quite a new suit. I was given boots of good quality leather."

The old man's voice rose to a falsetto and the interpreter could hardly keep pace with his rapid speech.... Suddenly he fell silent and after a pause said thoughtfully:

"And they told us that the Russians would take from the Afghans everything of value that they possessed. What lies! The Russians present the Afghans with items of value..."

Taking his leave of us the old man invited us to visit his workshop if we had an opportunity.

An opportunity arose. Over 5 years later.

We met three Afghans on the edge of the village. One was tall, middle-aged, in clothes bleached by the sun. The other two were young men. The tall man, studying my Afghan companion and me from head to foot, said in a rasping voice:

"Allah has called the old craftsman to him...glory to the omnipotent one...."

Folding his arms across his green cloak, he fixed me with a piercing look.

"Are you Russian?"

"Soviet."

"I do not like Russians."

I had not heard such frankness before.

"I do not like Russians," he repeated, still piercing me with his gaze but addressing himself, as it seemed to me, to the two men next to him. "The Russians have come to Afghanistan to take its people's grain, land, and all their wealth...."

"Show us the villagers from whom the Soviet comrades have taken grain? From whom have they taken land?"

The interpreter angrily translated my questions.

"Do not listen to him," a young Afghan said, joining in the conversation. "This man does not live in our village, he has come here from the mountains. And all the time he frightens the villagers by saying that the Russians will take away our grain, our land, and our wives and impose excessive taxes on our peasants...."

"We have decided to arrest him and put him where he belongs," the second young man said.

Around 2 days ago a political officer whom I knew, who belongs to the limited contingent of Soviet troops, told me how in the remote village that he had visited as part of an agitation detachment our soldiers, doctors, and nurses discussed and utterly defeated the Jushmans' shameless demagoguery. They defeated it with convincing words and even more so with convincing deeds. "You say that the Russians have come to take away the peasants' grain? Those who need grain, come over to the truck! We Soviet people have brought you flour, rice, and grain for baking...women, take the Russians' soap, salt, and matches as a gift. If you are sick, kindly ask to see the doctor. Medicines will be dispensed free of charge...and we have brought you other things, comrade peasants, some kerosene...."

I described my meeting in the village to Lieutenant Sergey Bochenkov. He is new to Afghanistan. He came to the limited contingent this summer.

"So they are intimidating the inhabitants by saying that we will take away their grain? That is nothing new. We have enough grain of our own. Furthermore, we actually share our grain with our Afghan comrades. How many villages have we not seen when, during the natural disasters which sometimes befall the village, our servicemen voluntarily give part of their rations to the victims in the disaster area?"

Last year Sergey graduated from the Gorkiy Higher Military School of Rear Services. Then he was transferred here, to the DRA, to a unit where he was put in charge of some bakers.

...The bread is ready. Time to turn out the loaves. Well baked and piping hot, they seem to fill the whole district with their inimitable aroma.

While the soldiers and storekeeper Private Murad Dzhakhonov empty the tins and stack the loaves on shelves, Serozha Bochenkov puts the teapot on the table and cuts a hot loaf into thick slices. And we contentedly drink the scented tea with the unusually white light bread. The bread is so tasty! And I know why. The wheat was grown by Volgograd farmers and milled by the Irkutsk flour combine. A convoy of army drivers delivered the flour. The bread run goes through the Salan pass, where the dushmans often fire at the truck wheels and riddle the laden baskets with holes. But the enemy cannot stop the bread run: Our servicemen and the Afghan servicemen keep a very close eye on the road and freight.

They are bakers. But they are also soldiers. Their submachineguns stand in a pile by the entrance to their living quarters. On the shelf there are tin cans containing submachinegun cartridges and hand grenades. Dough and bread are one thing, but the combat and political aspects in Lt Bochenkov's subunit occupy a whole program each. Incidentally, the baker soldiers are all excellent shots. They are unfailingly accurate at hitting the target with submachinegun or hand grenade.

When I enthusiastically described my meeting with the baker soldiers to Anatoliy Konstantinovich Zhukov, a rear services officer, he noted with satisfaction:

"Our servicemen are serving worthily, even though service here is far from easy. The mountains, the distances, the climate--everything seems to be against the soldier. What is it like when you are standing in front of an enemy? In summer it is very hot. In winter the draughts cut through you. But the bakers do their job. Wholeheartedly, as their duty demands." He stopped suddenly. "I do not know whether our girls realize it but they will not find a better husband than a soldier who has served in Afghanistan...."

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(SU: 1800/17)

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH AFRICA

EXPLOITATION OF ISLAMIC SLOGANS ASSAILLED

GF061230 Baku International Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 5 Jan 86

[Unattributed commentary: "Islamic Slogans Are Being Exploited for Political Ends"]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, it is necessary to point out that Islamic slogans have been used both for progressive and reactionary purposes in the past and they are still being so used at the present time. For example, the enemies of the DRA have been exploiting Islamic slogans to wage an undeclared war against the people of that country. Respectable names such as Hizb-e Islami, Markat Islami, and others have been given to the counterrevolutionary bands, which operate against the DRA and which are encouraged and supported by the United States, to camouflage them. In reality, however, the members of these organizations are the noxious agents of the imperialists. The Afghan people consider them as the Dushmans. This is due to the fact that they destroy hospitals, make bonfires out of Koranic books, and kill clergymen and praying Muslims. Is this not a sacrilege against Islam?

The Pakistani regime, on the other hand, which also uses Islamic slogans on a large scale, closely cooperates with the United States. The United States has attracted Pakistan to the idea of rearmament at a fast pace.

It has taken over Pakistan's military bases and ports. The United States uses Pakistan's soil to facilitate the training of mercenaries. Furthermore, it is waging an undeclared war against the DRA through the mercenaries. As such, can there be any connection with the pro-imperialist policy pursued by the Pakistani authorities and Islamic ideals and slogans?

It will be recalled that the CPSU Central Committee account to the 26th CPSU Congress in 1981 stated the following in part: Certain countries in the West have frequently put forward Islamic slogans. However, we, the communists, respect the faith of the peoples of the Islamic religion. It is important to consider the objectives of the forces which use such slogans. The liberation movement can be broadened under the banner of Islam. This is confirmed by past experience also shows that the reactionary elements who engage in counter-revolutionary activity also use Islamic slogans.

The CPSU Central Committee account also said: Therefore, it can be asked what the real substance of this or that movement is? As it can be seen, both the-

progressive and the reactionary forces can use Islamic slogans for their own political ends. Therefore, it is necessary to have an accurate concept of the aims and objectives established by those who use Islamic slogans. It is necessary to know on whose side such people are standing. It is necessary to know whether they take the side of the people who struggle for their national and social independence or whether they side with the oppressors of the said peoples?

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

REPRESSION OF LEFTIST FORCES IN IRAN ATTACKED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 85 p 5

[Unsigned article: "Repression of Leftist Forces in Iran"]

[Text] In the press of the Iranian People's Party (IPP) and the Iranian People's Fedayeen (majority) (IPF(m)) and also in the mass media of several countries material has recently been published concerning the continuing repression in Iran of representatives of leftist forces.

They note in particular that closed trials are continuing for members of the IPP, during which legal procedural norms, principles of democracy and justice are being grossly violated. The Iranian authorities are ignoring the demands of the progressive world community to allow international observers to familiarize themselves with the legal proceedings and moral and physical well-being of the political prisoners, to guarantee the legal right of the defendants to employ the services of lawyers and to conduct the legal proceedings in the presence of foreign journalists.

Recently, closed trials have been held for activists of the party who, despite the lack of any evidence or incriminating documents, have been sentenced to long (12-15 years) prison terms. It recently came to light that several members of the OPP and IPF(m) had received death sentences which were sent to the highest Islamic authorities for approval. In particular, the lives of IPP activists, K. (Zarshenas) and M.S. (Rugani), are threatened, as well as those members of the IPF(m) leadership, R. (Taban) and A. (Lotfi).

As has been reported, cruel physical and mental torture of prisoners is a widespread practice in Iranian prisons for the purpose of obtaining "confessions" from them. Several representatives of the leftist forces of Iran have already died from torture and the fate of many of those arrested is unknown, since the authorities refuse to provide any information about them even to their closest relatives. According to several reports, in September of this year several members of the Iranian People's Mujahedeen were put to death. The lives of other political prisoners languishing in Iranian torture chambers are also in danger.

Iranian leftist democratic organizations are appealing to the international community to defend the patriots who have been arrested in Iran and to achieve their speedy release.

12793/13167
CSO: 1807/104

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

SOMALIA'S CONSENT TO DUMPING U.S. RADIOACTIVE WASTE ASSAILED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by V. Belyakov: "Radioactive Dump"]

[Text] Nairobi, 22 [Oct] (FRANCE PRESS). The U.S. has received consent from the government of Somalia to dump radioactive wastes in that country.

We are talking of a long-term lease on 800 square kilometers of Somalian territory in the Mudugh and Hiran regions. In exchange, Washington has promised to grant Mogadiscio a huge sum of economic aid. The agreement was concluded when General R. Kingston, commander of the U.S. "rapid deployment forces," visited Somalia.

For some time now the Pentagon has been seeking a site for an atomic dump as far away from the U.S. borders as possible. As was reported, the Sudan was their first choice. Nimeri, the former president of this country permitted the Americans to bury radioactive wastes in the Darfur and Kordofan regions in exchange for financial aid. However, the Pentagon's plans were cancelled by the Sudanese people who overthrew the hated regime six months ago. So Washington turned to another of its proteges, Somalia. The Americans, it appears, were assured success in advance since this country, which is one of the poorest in the world and has suffered a severe economic crisis in recent years.

President M. Siad Barre in a recent interview with the FRANCE PRESS news agency complained that the West was not rushing to aid its friends. Consequently, as the newspaper LE MONDE noted, the government "has not been forced to knock on every door just to ensure its future existence." I will add: judging by the deal with the U.S., this is being done even at the expense of the national interests of its people.

The agreement concerning dumping radioactive wastes on Somalian territory, we will add, has aroused great concern in neighboring countries, Kenya and others.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

MAURITIUS, USSR CONCLUDE CONSULAR CONVENTION

[Editorial Report] Moscow VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SOYUZA SOVETSKIKH SOTSIALISTICHESKIKH RESPUBLIK in Russian No 52, 25 December 1985, carries on pages 903-918 the text of a consular convention between the Republic of Mauritius and the Soviet Union. The agreement consists of 40 articles divided into five sections: I, definitions; II, consular establishments and designation of consular officials; III, privileges and immunities; IV, consular functions; and V, concluding decrees. In addition to outlining the usual consular functions, section IV includes several articles regarding the consul's duties pertaining to ships. He has the right "to render assistance to a ship from the government he represents, located in a port, harbor, territorial or internal waters" of the host government. The convention was concluded in August 1984 and was to go into effect on 17 November 1985. The convention was signed by S. (Nicolya) of Mauritius and by N. Pankov, Soviet ambassador to Mauritius.

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